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SPEECHES

INCIDENT TO THE

VISIT OF SECRETARY ROOT

TO

SOUTH AMERICA

JULY 4 TO SEPTEMBER 30, 1906

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1906

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PREFACE.

The speeches included in this volume were delivered during a journey by the Secretary of State of the United States of America in South America in the summer of 1906. The journey had as its primary purpose a visit to the Third Conference of American Republics, held at Rio de Janeiro in July and August of that year, and it was extended upon the hospitable invitations of the Governments of other South American countries. It was made in the United States cruiser *Charleston*, Commander Cameron McR. Winslow, U. S. Navy, sailing from New York July 4th, and left at Panama September 22d, and finished in the United States cruiser *Columbia*, Commander John M. Bowyer, U. S. Navy, sailing from Colon September 23d and arriving at the mouth of the Potomac September 30th.

The speeches here printed are, for the most part, of a sufficiently official character to be properly part of the diplomatic history of the American Republics. Many other speeches made during the journey have not been preserved.

The following is an extract from the Message of President Roosevelt to Congress, December 3, 1906:

> "The Second International Conference of American Republics, held in Mexico in the years 1901–2, provided for the holding of the

third conference within five years, and committed the fixing of the time and place and the arrangements for the conference to the governing board of the Bureau of American Republics, composed of the representatives of all the American nations in Washington. That board discharged the duty imposed upon it with marked fidelity and painstaking care, and upon the courteous invitation of the United States of Brazil, the conference was held at Rio de Janeiro, continuing from the 23d of July to the 29th of August last. Many subjects of common interest to all the American nations were discust by the conference, and the conclusions reached, embodied in a series of resolutions and proposed conventions, will be laid before you upon the coming in of the final report of the American delegates. They contain many matters of importance relating to the extension of trade, the increase of communication, the smoothing away of barriers to free intercourse, and the promotion of a better knowledge and good understanding between the different countries represented. The meetings of the conference were harmonious and the conclusions were reached with substantial unanimity. It is interesting to observe that in the successive conferences which have been held the representatives of the different American nations have been learning to work together effectively, for, while the First Conference in Washington in 1889, and the Second Conference in Mexico in 1901–2, occupied many months, with much time wasted in an unregulated and fruitless discussion, the Third Conference at Rio exhibited much of the facility in the practical

dispatch of business which characterizes permanent deliberative bodies, and completed its labors within the period of six weeks originally allotted for its sessions.

"Quite apart from the specific value of the conclusions reached by the conference, the example of the representatives of all the American nations engaging in harmonious and kindly consideration and discussion of subjects of common interest is itself of great and substantial value for the promotion of reasonable and considerate treatment of all international questions. The thanks of this country are due to the Government of Brazil and to the people of Rio de Janeiro for the generous hospitality with which our delegates, in common with the others, were received, entertained, and facilitated in their work.

"Incidentally to the meeting of the conference, the Secretary of State visited the city of Rio de Janeiro and was cordially received by the conference, of which he was made an honorary president. The announcement of his intention to make this visit was followed by most courteous and urgent invitations from nearly all the countries of South America to visit them as the guest of their Governments. It was deemed that by the acceptance of these invitations we might appropriately express the real respect and friendship in which we hold our sister Republics of the southern continent, and the Secretary, accordingly, visited Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, Peru, Panama, and Colombia. He refrained from visiting Paraguay, Bolivia, and Ecuador only because the distance of their capi-

tals from the seaboard made it impracticable with the time at his disposal. He carried with him a message of peace and friendship, and of strong desire for good understanding and mutual helpfulness; and he was everywhere received in the spirit of his message. The members of government, the press, the learned professions, the men of business, and the great masses of the people united everywhere in emphatic response to his friendly expressions and in doing honor to the country and cause which he represented.

"In many parts of South America there has been much misunderstanding of the attitude and purposes of the United States toward the other American Republics. An idea had become prevalent that our assertion of the Monroe Doctrine implied, or carried with it, an assumption of superiority, and of a right to exercise some kind of protectorate over the countries to whose territory that doctrine applies. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Yet that impression continued to be a serious barrier to good understanding, to friendly intercourse, to the introduction of American capital and the extension of American trade. The impression was so widespread that apparently it could not be reached by any ordinary means.

"It was part of Secretary Root's mission to dispel this unfounded impression, and there is just cause to believe that he has succeeded. In an address to the third conference at Rio on the 31st of July—an address of such note that I send it in, together with this message—he said:

"'We wish for no victories but those of peace; for no territory except our own; for no

sovereignty except the sovereignty over ourselves. We deem the independence and equal rights of the smallest and weakest member of the family of nations entitled to as much respect as those of the greatest empire, and we deem the observance of that respect the chief guaranty of the weak against the oppression of the strong. We neither claim nor desire any rights or privileges or powers that we do not freely concede to every American Republic. We wish to increase our prosperity, to extend our trade, to grow in wealth, in wisdom, and in spirit, but our conception of the true way to accomplish this is not to pull down others and profit by their ruin, but to help all friends to a common prosperity and a common growth, that we may all become greater and stronger together.

"'Within a few months for the first time the recognized possessors of every foot of soil upon the American continents can be and I hope will be represented with the acknowledged rights of equal sovereign states in the great World Congress at The Hague. This will be the world's formal and final acceptance of the declaration that no part of the American continents is to be deemed subject to colonization. Let us pledge ourselves to aid each other in the full performance of the duty to humanity which that accepted declaration implies, so that in time the weakest and most unfortunate of our Republics may come to march with equal step by the side of the stronger and more fortunate. Let us help each other to show that for all the races of men the liberty for which we have fought and labored is the twin sister of justice and peace. Let us

unite in creating and maintaining and making effective an all-American public opinion, whose power shall influence international conduct and prevent international wrong, and narrow the causes of war, and forever preserve our free lands from the burden of such armaments as are massed behind the frontiers of Europe, and bring us ever nearer to the perfection of ordered liberty. So shall come security and prosperity, production and trade, wealth, learning, the arts, and happiness for us all.'

"These words appear to have been received with acclaim in every part of South America. They have my hearty approval, as I am sure they will have yours, and I can not be wrong in the conviction that they correctly represent the sentiments of the whole American people. I can not better characterize the true attitude of the United States in its assertion of the Monroe Doctrine than in the words of the distinguished former minister of foreign affairs of Argentina, Doctor Drago, in his speech welcoming Mr. Root at Buenos Ayres. He spoke of—

"'The traditional policy of the United States (which) without accentuating superiority or seeking preponderance, condemned the oppression of the nations of this part of the world and the control of their destinies by the great Powers of Europe.'

"It is gratifying to know that in the great city of Buenos Ayres, upon the arches which spanned the streets, entwined with Argentine and American flags for the reception of our representative, there were emblazoned not only the names of Washington and Jefferson and

Marshall, but also, in appreciative recognition of their services to the cause of South American independence, the names of James Monroe, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, and Richard Rush. We take especial pleasure in the graceful courtesy of the Government of Brazil, which has given to the beautiful and stately building first used for the meeting of the conference the name of 'Palacio Monroe.' Our grateful acknowledgments are due to the Governments and the people of all the countries visited by the Secretary of State for the courtesy, the friendship, and the honor shown to our country in their generous hospitality to him."

I.

Speeches at an Extraordinary Session of the Third Conference of American Republics held in Rio de Janeiro July 31, 1906.

Speech of His Excellency Joaquim Nabuco, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from the United States of Brazil to the United States of America, President of the Conference.

[Translation from the Portuguese.]

SIR: You do not come here to-night as a stranger to take your place as an honorary president of this Conference. You were the first to express a desire that the Conference should meet this year; you it was who, in Washington, brought to a happy conclusion the difficult elaboration of its program and of its rules. Neither can we forget that at one time you even expected to be one of us, a plan you abandoned only to divide your time among all the Republics that claimed the honor of your visit. The meeting of this Conference is thus to a great extent your own work. In nothing else since you came to your high post have you taken a more direct and personal interest. You seem to divine in the spirit that animates you with regard to our continent the mark that your name will leave in history.

I believe that you and the Conference understand each other fully. The periodical meeting of this body, exclusively composed of American

nations, assuredly means that America forms a political system separate from that of Europe—a constellation with its own distinct orbit.

By aiming, however, at a common civilization and by trying to make of the space we occupy on the globe a vast neutral zone of peace, we are working for the benefit of the whole world. In this way we offer to the population, to the wealth, and to the genius of Europe a much wider and safer field of action in our hemisphere than if we formed a disunited continent, or if we belonged to the belligerent camps into which the Old World may become divided. One point specially will be of great interest for you, who so heartily desire the success of this work. The Conference is convinced that its mission is not to force any nation belonging to it to do anything she would not be freely prepared to do upon her own initiative; we all recognize that its sole function is to impart our collective sanction to what has already become unanimous in the opinion of the whole continent.

This is the first time, sir, that an American Secretary of State officially visits a foreign nation, and we all feel happy that that first visit was to Latin America. You will find everywhere the same admiration for your great country, whose influence in the advance of moral culture, of political liberty, and of international law has begun already to counterbalance that of the rest of the world. Mingled with that admiration you will also find the

sentiment that you could not rise without raising with you our whole continent; that in everything you achieve we shall have our share of progress.

There are few rolls of honor so brilliant in history as that of men who have occupied your high position. Among them any distinction on the ground of their merits would be fated to be unjust; a few names, however, that shine more vividly in history, such as those of Jefferson, Monroe, Webster, Clay, Seward, and Blaine—the latter the creator of these conferences—suffice to show abroad that the United States have always been as proud of the perfection of the mold in which their Secretaries of State have been cast and as zealous in this respect as they have been in the case of their Presidents. We fully appreciate the luster added to this Conference by the part you take in it to-night. It is with sincere gratification that we welcome you. Here, you may be sure, you are surrounded by the respect of our whole continent for your great nation; for President Roosevelt, who has shown himself during his term of office, and will ever remain, whatever position he may choose to occupy in public life, one of the leaders of mankind; and for yourself, whose sound sense of justice and whose sincere interest in the welfare of all American nations reflect the noblest inspiration that animated the greatest of your predecessors.

This voyage of yours demonstrates practically to the whole world your good faith as a statesman and

your broad sympathy as an American; it shows the conscientiousness and the care with which you wish to place before the President and the country the fundamental points of your national external policy.

You are now exploring political seas never navigated before, lands not yet revealed to the genius of your statesmen and towards which they were attracted, as we are all attracted one to another, by an irresistible continental gravitation. We feel certain, however, that at the end of your long journey you will feel that, in their ideals and in their hearts, the American Republics form already a great political unit in the world.

Speech of Elihu Root, Secretary of State of the United States of America, Honorary President of the Conference.

Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Third Conference of American Republics:

I beg you to believe that I highly appreciate and thank you for the honor you do me.

I bring from my country a special greeting to her elder sisters in the civilization of America.

Unlike as we are in many respects, we are alike in this, that we are all engaged under new conditions, and free from the traditional forms and limitations of the Old World in working out the same problem of popular self-government.

It is a difficult and laborious task for each of us. Not in one generation nor in one century can the effective control of a superior sovereign, so long deemed necessary to government, be rejected and effective self-control by the governed be perfected in its place. The first fruits of democracy are many of them crude and unlovely; its mistakes are many, its partial failures many, its sins not few. Capacity for self-government does not come to man by nature. It is an art to be learned, and it is also an expression of character to be developed among all the thousands of men who exercise popular sovereignty.

To reach the goal towards which we are pressing forward, the governing multitude must first acquire knowledge that comes from universal education, wisdom that follows practical experience, personal independence and self-respect befitting men who acknowledge no superior, self-control to replace that external control which a democracy rejects, respect for law, obedience to the lawful expressions of the public will, consideration for the opinions and interests of others equally entitled to a voice in the state, loyalty to that abstract conception—one's country—as inspiring as that loyalty to personal sovereigns which has so illumined the pages of history, subordination of personal interests to the public good, love of justice and mercy, of liberty and order. All these we must seek by slow and patient effort; and of how many shortcomings in his own land and among his own people each one of us is conscious.

Yet no student of our times can fail to see that not America alone but the whole civilized world is swinging away from its old governmental moorings and intrusting the fate of its civilization to the capacity of the popular mass to govern. By this pathway mankind is to travel, withersoever it leads. Upon the success of this our great undertaking the hope of humanity depends.

Nor can we fail to see that the world makes substantial progress towards more perfect popular self-government.

I believe it to be true that, viewed against the background of conditions a century, a generation, a decade ago, government in my own country has advanced, in the intelligent participation of the great mass of the people, in the fidelity and honesty with which they are represented, in respect for law, in obedience to the dictates of a sound morality, and in effectiveness and purity of administration.

Nowhere in the world has this progress been more marked than in Latin America. Out of the wrack of Indian fighting and race conflicts and civil wars, strong and stable governments have arisen. Peaceful succession in accord with the people's will has replaced the forcible seizure of power permitted by the people's indifference. Loyalty to country, its peace, its dignity, its honor, has risen above partizanship for individual leaders. The rule of law supersedes the rule of man. Property is protected and the fruits of enterprise are secure. Individual liberty is respected. Continuous public policies are followed; national faith is held sacred. Progress has not been equal everywhere, but there has been progress everywhere. The movement in the right direction is general. The right tendency is not exceptional; it is continental. The present affords just cause for satisfaction; the future is bright with hope.

It is not by national isolation that these results have been accomplished, or that this progress can be continued. No nation can live unto itself alone

and continue to live. Each nation's growth is a part of the development of the race. There may be leaders and there may be laggards, but no nation can long continue very far in advance of the general progress of mankind, and no nation that is not doomed to extinction can remain very far behind. It is with nations as it is with individual men; intercourse, association, correction of egotism by the influence of other's judgment, broadening of views by the experience and thought of equals, acceptance of the moral standards of a community the desire for whose good opinion lends a sanction to the rules of right conduct—these are the conditions of growth in civilization. A people whose minds are not open to the lessons of the world's progress, whose spirits are not stirred by the aspirations and the achievements of humanity struggling the world over for liberty and justice, must be left behind by civilization in its steady and beneficent advance.

To promote this mutual interchange and assistance between the American Republics, engaged in the same great task, inspired by the same purpose, and professing the same principles, I understand to be the function of the American Conference now in session. There is not one of all our countries that can not benefit the others; there is not one that can not receive benefit from the others; there is not one that will not gain by the prosperity, the peace, the happiness of all.

According to your program no great and im-

pressive single thing is to be done by you; no political questions are to be discussed; no controversies are to be settled; no judgment is to be passed upon the conduct of any state: but many subjects are to be considered which afford the possibility of removing barriers to intercourse; of ascertaining for the common benefit what advances have been made by each nation in knowledge, in experience, in enterprise, in the solution of difficult questions of government, and in ethical standards; of perfecting our knowledge of each other; and of doing away with the misconceptions, the misunderstandings, and the resultant prejudices that are such fruitful sources of controversy.

And there are some subjects in the program which invite discussion that may lead the American Republics towards an agreement upon principles, the general practical application of which can come only in the future through long and patient effort. Some advance at least may be made here towards the complete rule of justice and peace among nations in lieu of force and war.

The association of so many eminent men from all the Republics, leaders of opinion in their own homes; the friendships that will arise among you; the habit of temperate and kindly discussion of matters of common interest; the ascertainment of common sympathies and aims; the dissipation of misunderstandings; the exhibition to all the American peoples of this peaceful and considerate

method of conferring upon international questions—this alone, quite irrespective of the resolutions you may adopt and the conventions you may sign, will mark a substantial advance in the direction of international good understanding.

These beneficent results the Government and the people of the United States of America greatly desire.

We wish for no victories but those of peace; for no territory except our own; for no sovereignty except the sovereignty over ourselves. We deem the independence and equal rights of the smallest and weakest member of the family of nations entitled to as much respect as those of the greatest empire, and we deem the observance of that respect the chief guaranty of the weak against the oppression of the strong. We neither claim nor desire any rights, or privileges, or powers that we do not freely concede to every American Republic. We wish to increase our prosperity, to expand our trade, to grow in wealth, in wisdom, and in spirit, but our conception of the true way to accomplish this is not to pull down others and profit by their ruin, but to help all friends to a common prosperity and a common growth, that we may all become greater and stronger together.

Within a few months, for the first time, the recognized possessors of every foot of soil upon the American continents can be and I hope will be represented with the acknowledged rights of equal sovereign states in the great World Congress at The Hague. This will be the world's formal and final

acceptance of the declaration that no part of the American continents is to be deemed subject to colonization. Let us pledge ourselves to aid each other in the full performance of the duty to humanity which that accepted declaration implies; so that in time the weakest and most unfortunate of our Republics may come to march with equal step by the side of the stronger and more fortunate. Let us help each other to show that for all the races of men the liberty for which we have fought and labored is the twin sister of justice and peace. Let us unite in creating and maintaining and making effective an all-American public opinion, whose power shall influence international conduct and prevent international wrong, and narrow the causes of war, and forever preserve our free lands from the burden of such armaments as are massed behind the frontiers of Europe, and bring us ever nearer to the perfection of ordered liberty. So shall come security and prosperity, production and trade, wealth, learning, the arts, and happiness for us all.

Not in a single conference, nor by a single effort, can very much be done. You labor more for the future than for the present; but if the right impulse be given, if the right tendency be established, the work you do here will go on among all the millions of people in the American continents long after your final adjournment, long after your lives, with incalculable benefit to all our beloved countries, which may it please God to continue free and independent and happy for ages to come.

Speech of Mr. Mariano Cornejo, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the Republic of Peru to the Kingdom of Spain, former President of the Chamber of Deputies, Delegate from Peru.

[Translation from the Spanish.]

[The PRESIDENT. There is before me a motion presented by the Peruvian Delegation.

The motion was then read:

"The Peruvian Delegation moves that the minutes of the grand session of to-day, signed by all the Delegates, be presented to the Department of State at Washington as an expression of the great pleasure with which the Pan-American Conference has received its Honorary President, the Hon. Elihu Root."]

HONORABLE MINISTER; MR. PRESIDENT; HONORABLE DELEGATES:

The Delegation from Peru desires that there may remain a mark of this solemn session, in which all America has saluted as a link of union the eminent statesman who has honored us with his presence, and, in his person, the great American who, for the elevation of his ideas and for the nobleness of his sentiments, is the worthy Chief of the powerful Republic which serves as an example, as a stimulus, and a center of gravitation for the political and social systems of America.

Honorable Minister, your country sheds its heat and light over all the peoples of the continent, which in their turn, advancing at different rates of velocity, but in the same direction, along the line of progress, form in the landscape of American history a beautiful perspective of the future, reaching to a horizon where the real and the ideal are mingled, and on whose blue field the great nationality that fills all the present stands out in bold relief.

These congresses, gentlemen, are the symbol of that solidarity which, notwithstanding the ephemeral passions of men, constitutes, by the invincible force of circumstances, the essence of our continental system. They were conceived by the organizing genius of the statesmen of Washington, in order that the American sentiment of patriotism might be therein exalted, freeing it from that national egotism which may be justified in the difficult moments of the formation of states, but which would be to-day an impediment to the development of the American idea, destined to demonstrate that just as the democratic principle has been to combine liberty and order in the constitution of states, it will likewise combine the self-government of the nations and fraternity in the relations of the peoples.

Honorable Minister, your visit has given impulse to this undertaking. The ideas you have presented have not only defined the interests, but have also stirred in the soul of America all her memories, all her dreams, and all her ideals.

It is as if the centuries had awakened in their tombs to hail the dawn of a hope that fills them with new vigor and light.

It is the wish of Peru that this hope may never be extinguished in the heart of America, and that the illustrious Delegates who will sign these minutes may remember that they are entering into a solemn engagement to strive for the cause of American solidarity.

Speech of Doctor Francisco León de la Barra, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States of Mexico to the Kingdom of Belgium, Delegate from Mexico.

[Translation from the Spanish.]

MR. PRESIDENT, HONORABLE MINISTERS, AND HONORABLE DELEGATES:

The Delegation from Mexico has the honor of seconding the motion just presented by the Honorable Delegate from Peru.

The visit of the Secretary of State of the United States has for us a very special significance. The eminent co-worker of the illustrious President Roosevelt, as we have just heard in the beautiful address we have enthusiastically applauded, brings us the good wishes of the First Magistrate of his country for the success of the labors of this Conference; and they will bear fruit, because they are based on mutual respect for the rights of States.

With these considerations the Delegation from Mexico, in accordance with the proposal made by the Delegates from Peru, respectfully asks the Conference to carry it by acclamation.*

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*The motion was carried by acclamation.

Speech of Honorable A. J. Montague, former Governor of the State of Virginia, Delegate from the United States of America.

Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Conference:

If in disparagement of our modesty, yet in recognition of our gratitude, the Delegates from the United States have just requested me to express our profound appreciation of the extraordinary courtesy you have extended to our country in the person of her distinguished and able Secretary of State, whose wise and exalted address we have all heard with delight and satisfaction.

However, the honors you have paid him, and which come so graciously from a polite and hospitable people, convey a deeper meaning, for in them we must see a gratifying evidence of that American solidarity which unites our Republics in the common development of popular government, energized by liberty, illumined by intelligence, steadied by order, and sustained by virtue. The liberty of law, and the opportunity for duty, and the dignity of responsibility come to us by the very genius of our institutions. Therefore, in recognition of the fraternity

which inspires the greatest tasks which have yet fallen to the lot of so many peoples, working together for a common end, we receive your compliment to our country, and for this purpose I have thus detained you to hear this imperfect expression of our thanks.

Speech of His Excellency Baron do Rio Branco, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United States of Brazil, Honorory President of the Conference.

[Translation from the Portuguese.]

GENTLEMEN:

I have risen merely to make a statement which I am sure will be received with pleasure by this illustrious assembly.

His Excellency the President of the Republic, in remembrance of the visit paid by His Excellency President Roosevelt to this building in St. Louis, and in order to perpetuate the memory of the coming of the distinguished Secretary Elihu Root to this country, has resolved by a decree bearing to-day's date to give to this edifice in which the International Pan-American Conference is now in session the name of Palacio Monroe.*

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* The PRESIDENT. There being no further business before the Conference, I shall close the session.

The Conference was then adjourned.

II.

Speeches in Brazil.

Speech of His Excellency Augusto Montenegro, Governor of the State of Para, in the City of Para (Belem), at a breakfast given by him to Mr. Root, July 17, 1906.

[Translation from the Portuguese.]

I will say but a few words to drink to the health of Mr. Root, the very illustrious Secretary of State of the United State of North America. I regret exceedingly that Mr. Root should have only a few hours available to remain among us, but I know that his time is limited and that he can not remain among us without inconvenience; however, I hope that these few hours which his excellency has devoted to Para will have been sufficient for him to carry away a good impression of this region. I also fervently hope that Mr. Root's visit may mark the beginning of a new era in the diplomacy of the two Americas, and that, if possible, it may contribute still further to a strengthening of the friendly ties which already bind the two Republics together. I also hope that Mr. Root will gather the very best impressions of the whole country from his other visits. I am certain that he will be received everywhere with that cordiality, hospitality, and affection which we proudly proclaim as being among the chief characteristics of the Brazilians. Before concluding, I drink to the health of Mr. Root and of the great and noble President of the United States of North America.

Reply of Mr. Root.

YOUR EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF PARA:

I thank you most sincerely for your kind expressions and for your gracious hospitality. It is with the greatest pleasure that I have come to the great Republic of Brazil, that I might by my presence testify to the high consideration entertained by the Republic of the North for her sister Republic; that I might testify to the strong desire of the United States of America for the continuance of the growth of friendship between her and the United States of Brazil. Both of us—both of our countries—have of recent years been growing so great and rich that we can afford now to visit our friends, and also to entertain our friends. Let us therefore know each other better. I am sure that the more intimately we know each other the better friends we shall be. I know that because I know the feelings of my countrymen, and I know it because I experience your whole-hearted hospitality.

It has been a delight for me to see your beautiful, bright, and cheerful city, which, with its people happy and giving evidence of well-being and prosperity, with its comfortable homes, with its noble monuments, with its great public buildings and

institutions of beneficence, with its beautiful flowers and noble trees, justifies all that I had dreamed of in this august city of the great empire which reaches from the Amazon to the Uruguay.

I thank you for your reference to the President of the United States. His great, strong, human heart beats in unison with everything that is noble in the heart of any nation and with every aspiration of true manhood. Every effort tending to help a people on in civilization and in prosperity finds a reflex and response in his desire for their happiness. He is a true and genuine friend of all Americans, North and South. In his name I thank you for the welcome you have given me, and in his name I propose a toast to the President of the United States of Brazil.

Summary of speech of His Excellency Sigismundo Gonçalvez, Governor of the State of Pernambuco, at a breakfast given by him to Mr. Root, in the City of Pernambuco (Recife), July 22, 1906.

His Excellency Sigismundo Gonçalvez, Governor of Pernambuco, said that he had never felt so strong a desire to speak English in order to express the satisfaction he felt at receiving the distinguished visitor, and after wishing the Secretary a very pleasant and prosperous voyage, proposed the health of President Roosevelt.*

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*This speech was not reported, and therefore can not be reproduced.

Reply of Mr. Root.

YOUR EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF PERNAMBUCO, AND GENTLEMEN:

I regret in my turn that I can not respond to you in the language of the great race which has made the great country of Brazil. I thank you both for myself and in behalf of my country for your generous hospitality and the friendship which you have exhibited. It is the sincere desire of the President and of all the people of the United States to maintain with the people of Brazil a firm, sincere, and helpful friendship. Much as we differ, in many respects we are alike. Like you, our fathers fought for their country against savage Indians. Like you, our fathers fought to maintain their race in their country against other European races. It is a delight for me on these historic shores to come to this famous place, made glorious by such centuries of heroic, free, and noble patriotism. It is especially delightful for me to be welcomed here where the cause of human freedom received the powerful and ever-memorable support of a native of Pernambuco, whose name is dear to me, Joaquim Nabuco—a name inherited from a distinguished ancestry by my good friend, your illustrious townsman, the present

ambassador of Brazil to the United States. It is the chief function of an ambassador from one country to another to interpret to the people to whom he goes the people from whom he comes; and Joaquim Nabuco has presented to the people of the United States a conception of Brazilians, and especially of the men of Pernambuco, as admirable and worthy of all esteem. He is our friend, and because he is our friend we wish to be your friends. I ask you to join me now in drinking to the health of the President of the Republic of Brazil.

Speech of His Excellency Senhor Doctor José Marcelino de Souza, Governor of Bahia, at a banquet given by him to Mr. Root, at Bahia, July 24, 1906.

[Translation from the Portuguese.]

GENTLEMEN:

It is not without reason that the entire world is elated at the grand spectacle exhibited in the New World congregating its free and independent peoples in order to lay the foundations of a lasting peace.

In fact, the Old World looks on with sincere admiration at the complete demolition of the ancient precepts of international law. Ever since the right of the stronger has ceased to supersede the sound principles of justice; ever since the divine philosophy of the Jews taught men brotherly love for one another, the ancient international law underwent profound transformations.

Notwithstanding this, however, for a long time armies and costly navies continued to weigh down our public treasuries and the cannon to decide questions arising among nations.

Now, all Europe has its eyes turned towards America, which has noteworthily constituted itself the apostle of peace.

For a long time the American peoples have been settling their difficulties by means of arbitration.

It is this policy that is seen to be manifesting itself since the downfall of the ancient institute of international law which, instead of causing the people on the other side of the Atlantic fear, ought to fill them with joy because it tightens the international, economic, and commercial relations of this planet.

These are the aims and objects of pan-Americanism.

It does not inculcate war. Its gospel is concord. It has seen what a little while ago was nothing more than the dream of poets, the ideal of philosophers, develop into a reality.

Gentlemen, America must grow up, but intrenching itself with peace, and growing not by the augmentation of the sinews of war but by systematizing and utilizing the resources of her economic force.

This is the ideal of American nations. Therefore, although the other continents have long feared this propaganda, it is to be hoped, I repeat, that she will carry out her program of love and of confraternization, because thus America will have established international and economic relations with the entire world upon indestructible foundations.

The Honorable Elihu Root, the herald of the prosperous and powerful North American Republic, who brings to Brazil the assurance of his friendship and the most hearty support to the Pan-American

Congress whose Third Conference has just been opened at Rio, is the most important missionary of that gospel.

The presence of his excellency in that noteworthy assemblage is the assurance of reconciliation, of the growth of the free people of America.

Bahia, an important part of the Brazilian Federation, which receives the testimonial of friendship from the great Republic of the North, through its Secretary of State, can not help but feel the greatest joy at foreseeing the great results of that Conference and of this auspicious visit, which assumes the proportions of an embassy, of an appeal to the Republics of the new continent for the inauguration of inseparable bonds of mutual solidarity, for the concerted effort to compel the disappearance of the sad note of war.

In the shadow of the solemn inauguration of pan-Americanism, three nations of Central America found themselves in the battlefield in the deplorable spectacle of hatred and bloodshed.

Happily, as is announced by telegraph, thanks to the good offices of the United States and of Mexico, peace has been established among the nations, to the honor of the Christian civilization of our continent.

This policy of concord, therefore, accomplishes good. I repeat, America must prosper. It is necessary that the Monroe Doctrine triumph, not to the exclusion of the civilization of the Old World, but to the benefit of all humanity.

Nature has cut the continent from north to south without regard to its continuity; from north to south is the same political régime; and protecting it with two great nations, nature has not wished to isolate us from the rest of the world, but on the contrary to endow us with sources of wealth and to multiply the means of easy communication with centers of civilization.

Gentlemen, in the name of Bahia, I greet the great ideal of humanity that is treading a victorious path! I greet the Republic of North America, the efficient collaborator in this profoundly humane policy, the principal cause of the Pan-American Conference, in the person of its illustrious Secretary of State, Elihu Root!

Reply of Mr. Root.

YOUR EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR; GENTLEMEN AND LADIES:

I beg to acknowledge with sincere appreciation your kindly and most flattering expressions regarding myself. I receive with joy the expression of sentiments regarding my country, which I hope may be shared by every citizen of the great Republic of Brazil. It is with much sentiment that I find myself at the gateway of the south through which the civilization of Europe entered from the Iberian Peninsula the vast regions of South America. I whose fathers came through the northern gateway, on Massachusetts Bay, thousands of miles away—where the winters bring ice and snow and where a rugged soil greeted the first adventurers—find here another people working out for themselves the same problems of self-government, seeking the same goal of individual liberty, of peace, of prosperity, that we have been seeking in the far north for so many years. We are alike in that we have no concern in the primary objects of European diplomacy; we are free from the traditions, from the controversies, which the close neighborhood of centuries on

the continent of Europe has created—free, thank Heaven, from necessity for the maintenance of great armies and great navies to guard our frontiers, leaving us to give our minds to the problem of building up governments by the people which shall give prosperity and peace and individual opportunity to every citizen. In this great work it is my firm belief that we can greatly assist each other, if it be only by sympathy and friendship, by intercourse, exchange of opinions and experience, each giving to the other the benefits of its success, and helping the other to find out the causes of its failures. We can both aid each other by the peaceful exchanges of trade. Our trade—yes, our trade is valuable, and may it increase; may it increase to the wealth and prosperity of both nations. But there is something more than trade; there is the aspiration to make life worth the living, that uplifts humanity. To accomplish success in this is the goal which we seek to attain. There is the happiness of life; and what is trade if it does not bring happiness to life? In this the dissimilarity of our peoples may enable us to aid each other. We of the north are somewhat more sturdy in our efforts, and there are those who claim we work too hard. We are too strenuous in our lives. I wish that my people could gather some of the charm and grace of living in Bahia. We may give to you some added strength and strenuousness; you may give to us some of the beauty of life. I wish I could make you feel—I

wish still more that I could make my countrymen feel—what delight I experience in visiting your city, and in observing the delightful combination of the bright, cheerful colors which adorn your homes and daily life, with the beautiful tones that time has given to the century-old walls and battlements that look down upon your noble bay. The combination has seemed to me, as I have looked upon it to-day, to be most remarkable, and these varying scenes of beauty have seemed to be suggestive of what nations can do for each other, some giving the beauty and the tender tones, some giving the sturdy and strenuous effort. May the intercourse between the people of the north and the people of Brazil hereafter not be confined to an occasional visitor. May the advance of transportation bring new and swift steamship lines to be established between the coasts of North and South America. May we hope by frequently visiting each other to make our peoples strong in intercourse and friendship. May we be of mutual advantage and help to each other along the pathway of common prosperity, and may my people ever be mindful of the honor which you have done to them, through the gracious and bountiful hospitality with which you have made me happy!

Speech of His Excellency Baron do Rio Branco, Minister for Foreign Affairs, at a banquet given by him to Mr. Root at Rio de Janeiro, July 28, 1906.

Mr. Secretary of State:

The enthusiastic and cordial welcome you have received in Brazil must certainly have convinced you that this country is a true friend of your own.

This friendship is of long standing. It dates from the first days of our independence, which the Government of the United States was the first to recognize, as the Government of Brazil was the first to applaud the terms and spirit of the declarations contained in the famous message of President Monroe. Time has but increased, in the minds and hearts of successive generations of Brazilians, the sympathy and admiration which the founders of our nationality felt for the United States of America.

The manifestations of friendship for the United States which you have witnessed come from all the Brazilian people, and not from the official world alone, and it is our earnest desire that this friendship, which has never been disturbed in the past, may continue forever and grow constantly closer and stronger.

Gentlemen, I drink to the health of the distinguished Secretary of State of the United States of America, Mr. Elihu Root, who has so brilliantly and effectively aided President Roosevelt in the great work of the political approximation of the American nations.

Reply of Mr. Root.

YOUR EXCELLENCY:

I thank you again and still again for the generous hospitality which is making my reception in Brazil so charming.

Coming here as head of the Department of Foreign Affairs of my country and seated at the table of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the great Republic of Brazil, where I am your guest, I am forcibly reminded of the change which, within the last few years, has taken place in the diplomacy of the world, leading to a modern diplomacy that consists of telling the truth, a result of the government of the people by the people, which is in our days taking the place of personal government by sovereigns. It is the people who make peace or war; their desires, their sentiments, affections, and prejudices are the great and important factors which diplomacy has to consult, which diplomats have to interpret, and which they have to obey. Modern diplomacy is frank, because modern democracies have no secrets; they endeavor not only to know the truth, but also to express it.

And in this way I have come here as your guest; not because the fertile or ingenious mind of some

ruler has deemed it judicious or convenient, but because my visit naturally represents the friendship which the eighty million inhabitants of the great Republic of the North have for the twenty million people of Brazil; and it is a just interpretation of that friendship. The depth of sentiment which in me corresponds to your kind reception results from the knowledge I have that the cordiality which I find here represents in reality the friendship that Brazilians entertain for my dear country. Not in my personal name or as representative of an isolated individual, but in the name of all the people of my country and in the spirit of the great declaration mentioned by you, Mr. Minister, the declaration known by the name of Monroe, and which was the bulwark and safeguard of Latin America from the dawn of its independence, I raise my glass, certain that all present will unite with me in a toast to the progress, prosperity, and happiness of the Brazilian Republic.

Speech of Senator Ruy Barbosa.

MR. ROOT; LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

After Mr. Root's admirable speech, after an orator such as Mr. Root, and so inspired as he has been, nobody should have the courage to speak. Nevertheless, I do not know how to resist the wishes of our amiable amphictyon, our eminent Secretary for Foreign Affairs, as well as those of the gracious neighbors who surround me here. This is quite an unexpected surprise for me; but it comes from so high, and in so imperious a way, that I can not but submit, hoping you will be indulgent.

We have felt in Mr. Root's words the vibration of American soul in all its intensity, in all its eloquence, in all its power, in all its trustiness. So they could not have a better answer than the applauses of so brilliant an audience—the general and enthusiastic applauses, which have just greeted his remarkable speech. However, since the task of rendering the echo of Mr. Root's words in our hearts devolves upon me, I can not perform it truthfully but by thanking him "again and still again" (in Mr. Root's expressions just now), than by thanking him once more for his beneficent visit to Brazil.

We suppose, Mr. Root, that it does not come only from you. We are sure that you would not take this far-reaching step unless you counted, without a shadow of doubt, upon the sanction of American opinion. And knowing as we do that the United States are, from every standpoint, the most complete and dazzling success among modern nations, admiring them as the honor and pride of our continent, we rejoice, we exult, to open our home, our bosom, the arms of our modest and honest hospitality, to the giant of the Republics, to the mother of American democracies, in the person of her own Government, one of whose strongest and noblest functions centers there in the Secretary of State.

Our life as an independent nation is not yet a long one. We are, as such, only about eighty years old, albeit this may not be a very brief period in these days of ours, when time should not be measured by the number of years, inasmuch as not a great deal more than a century has been enough for the United States to become one of the greatest powers in the world. Short as it is, however, our national existence has not been devoid of noble dates, of fruitful and memorable events.

Amidst them, Mr. Root, this one will stand forever as a blessed landmark, or rather as the gushing out of a new political stream, whose wares of peace, of freedom, of morality, shall spread by and by all over the immensity of our continent.

This is our wish, our aspiration, and, I will not

say our dream, but our hope. You must have felt it, and will continue to feel it, at the throbbing of our national arteries, in Recife, in Bahia, now in this capital, and to-morrow in São Paulo.

Don't see in my words the looming of a momentous sensation. No! They do not tell my own impressions as an individual. They convey truthfully the voice of the people through the lips of a man who does not serve other interests. They only anticipate, I believe, what you shall hear from our legislative representation, in the highest demonstration of public feeling possible under a popular government, and that the historic scene of Lafayette, the liberal French soldier, the fellow-helper in American independence, being received in the American House of Representatives, shall find a worthy imitation in the reception of the great American Minister, the daring promoter of union in the American continent, by the two Houses of our National Congress.

So let us raise our cup to the northern colossus, the model of liberal Republics, the United States of America, in their living and vigorous personification, in their image visible and cherished among us, Mr. Elihu Root.

Speech of Senator Ruy Barbosa in the Federal Senate of Brazil, at Rio de Janeiro, August 2, 1906.

[Translation from the Portuguese.]

If your excellency will permit me, Mr. President, I will call your attention and that of the Senate to the fact that at this moment this House is honored by the presence, in one of the galleries, of Mr. Elihu Root, Secretary of State of the United States.

For a week his stay among us has been spreading interest throughout the country and filling the capital with joy, causing excitement among the neighboring nations and fixing the eyes of Europe on this obscure part of the world. The fact is that we are not only in the presence of an individual of great renown, who is one of the highest personages among contemporaneous statesmen, with a reputation which is dear to the Western Hemisphere, but we are experiencing an event of the most far-reaching international importance, in the sense in which this word corresponds most palpably to the common interests of the human race.

In the organization of the Government of the United States the portfolio of Secretary of State

constitutes a notably characteristic and peculiar feature. He is not merely, as commonly supposed, a minister for foreign affairs, but is moreover the guardian of the seals of state, the medium through whom the laws are promulgated, the census-taker of the national population, the depositary of the government archives, and the first assistant of the Chief Executive. Tradition has conferred upon him a dignity next to that of President, the law making him first in the order of succession to the Presidency by vacancy of the office, while it has become the custom for the President to invite him to participate in the performance of his duties rather as a colleague and associate than as an adviser and servant. The triumphant candidate in a Presidential election has at times called to this office his vanquished opponent, thus showing the homage paid by party spirit to the value of merit. Being popularly designated as head of the Cabinet, and being granted the honors of precedence at diplomatic functions, his high political entity inscribes him, together with the head of the nation, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the chairmen of the two great financial committees of that House of Congress, among the five or six personalities whose influence usually directs the Government of the United States.

But a true idea of this eminent position can not be formed without some light on its history, for the line of Secretaries of State sparkles with the almost

continuous luster, of a long, luminous zone, in which irridiate the dazzling names of Jefferson, one of the patriarchs of independence and in the foundation and organization of the United States—the philosopher, the writer, the statesman, the creator of parties, the systematizer of popular education, and the twice-elected successor of Washington; of Randolph, through whose initiative the stain produced by the word slavery was effaced from the provisional draft of the American Constitution; of Marshall, the greatest of magistrates and the most eminent jurist in the Republic, the oracle of the Constitution and the constructor of the Federal law; of Madison, the antagonist of traffic and the emulator of Hamilton in the editing of the Federalist; of Monroe, the asserter of the international doctrine of the independence of this continent; of John Quincy Adams, the pioneer of abolitionism in his radical condemnation of slavery; of Clay, the warm defender of the South American colonies in their struggle for emancipation; of Webster, the Demosthenes of the Union and of American liberty; of Seward, the rival for election of Lincoln, but who, being defeated by the latter, was invited by him to form part of his Cabinet; of Forsyth, Calhoun, Everett, Marcy, Evarts, Blaine, Bayard, and Hay. It is a path of stars, at the termination of which the administration of Mr. Elihu Root does not pale.

The annals of the United States could be traced by the route of this numerous constellation, whose

radiant points sparkle around yon apex, to send forth their beams to-day from yon gallery, illumining the Brazilian Senate, transfiguring the scene of our ordinary deliberations, and realizing, with the pomp of the evocation of this glorious past, the spectacle of the visit of one nation to the other which the illustrious Secretary of State presented before our eyes when, a few days ago, he said in response to our eminent and worthy Minister for Foreign Relations that his coming in the official capacity of his office to the land of the Cruzeiro constitutes a natural expression of the friendship which the eighty millions of inhabitants of the great Republic of the North utter toward the twenty million souls of the Republic of Brazil.

It is not, then, a diplomatic representation. It is not an embassy. It is the Government of the United States itself in person, in one of its predominant organs—an organ so exalted that it holds almost as high a position there in the national sentiment as the Presidency itself. For the first time is the North American Union visiting another part of the continent—Latin America. And this direct, personal, and most solemn visit of one America to the other has now as its scene the Brazilian Senate, assuming, within the brief dimensions of this chamber, the magnificent proportions of a picture for which our nation constitutes the frame and the attentive circle of the nations the gallery.

For the modest importance of our nation the event is of incomparable significance. None other

can be likened to it in the history of our existence as a Republic. After sixteen years of embarrassments, perils, and conflicts, the latter appears to be receiving its final consecration in this solemnity. It is the grand recognition of our democracy, the proclamation of the attainment of our majority as a Republic. The stability of the Government, its prestige, its honor, and its vigor could not have received a greater attestation before the world. Replying to the doubts, the negations, and the affronts with which our '89 was received, amidst passions at home and prejudices abroad, it signifies the irrevocable triumph of our revolution, closes forever the era of monarchical revindications, and opens up our future to order, confidence, and labor.

Almost all of us who compose this assembly, Mr. President, belong to that generation who were opening their eyes to public life or were preparing for it by their higher studies when the struggle was going on in the United States between slavery and freedom—that campaign of Titans which tore the entrails of America and shook the globe for many years.

Washington, Jefferson, and Madison had died despairing of the extinction of slavery. The latter being openly proclaimed as the corner stone of the Confederacy, which gloried in having as its basis and in holding as a supreme truth the subjection by Providence and the eternal enslavement of one race by the other, it looked as if the work of the patri-

archs of 1787 was doomed to inevitable destruction against the black rock, thus consummating the Jeffersonian prophecy.

But Christian order prevailed against the chaos of servile interests, showing that the Constitution of the United States was not that "league with death" and that "compact with hell" which it was boldly denounced to be by Garrison upon the breaking out of the abolitionist reaction. And when the Union rose again, still clinging to liberty, on the ruins of slavery and dismemberment, we who had heard the earthquake, we who had witnessed the opening of the abyss, we who had seen swallowed up in it a million lives and an incalculable amount of wealth, and knew of the misfortunes and tears it had caused, were surprised by the divine dawn which finally appeared with the consoling victory of justice, and we felt the penetration of its rays here into the depths of the Brazilian conscience, realizing, with a holy horror of the tragedy of which we had just been the witnesses, that we were still a country of slaves.

Very soon, however, the law of September 28, 1874, immediately thereafter Brazilian abolitionism, and shortly thereafter the brilliant stroke of abolition in 1888 responded to the splendid American lesson by our purification from this stigma.

And if we adopted this lesson in 1889 and 1891, when we embraced the federal system and framed a republican constitution, it was not, as has been said, in obedience to the wishes, caprices, or predilections

of theorists. Ever since the beginning of the past century the liberal spirit among us had become imbued with Americanism through reading the Federalist. The ideas of federation carried away the Brazilian Liberals in 1831. The condemnation of the Monarchy in Brazil involved fundamentally that of the administrative centralization and the single-headed form of government which were embodied in that régime. The United States gave us the first model and up to that time had furnished us the only example of a republican form of government extending over a territorial expanse such as only monarchies had previously shown themselves capable of governing. The dilemma was inevitable. We had either to adhere to the European solution, which is a constitutional royalty, or else establish a republic on the American model.

Of course, gentlemen, we are still to-day as far from the perfect model which the United States present of a federal republic as we were from England under the parliamentary monarchy, although England was the example we followed in that régime, just as the United States are our example in our present Government. But just as our backwardness in parliamentary customs was no cause for us to revert from a constitutional to an absolute monarchy, so neither is the insufficiency of our republican customs a reason for our abandoning the federal republic. There are no conditions more favorable for the political education of a nation than those presented by our constitutional mechanism,

modeled after the American type; nor could a practical schooling be offered us for such education equal to that of an intimate approximation between us and our great model, our relations of all kinds with the United States being drawn closer and multiplied.

Between them and us there was interposed the stupid, sullen wall of prejudices and suspicions with which weakness naturally imagines to shelter and protect itself from force. But this wall is cracking, tottering, and beginning to crumble to ruins under the action of the soil and the atmosphere—under the influx of the sentiments awakened by this great movement of policy of the United States toward the other American nations.

In this attitude, in the transparent clearness of its intentions, in the eloquence of its language, and in the manifest frankness of its promises, there stands forth a broad image of truthfulness which may be likened to those breezes in the sky on bright and sunny days which clear the horizon, cause the azure of the firmament to pervade our souls, and communicate the energy of life to our lungs. May God sustain the strong in this spirit of magnanimity, which is as advantageous to themselves as to the weak, and may He illumine the minds of the weak with an understanding of a situation which, mutually comprehended and maintained with firmness and honesty, will be productive of incalculable benefits for both parties!

The United States would already, long ago, have exhausted the admiration of the universe by the constant marvels of their greatness if they were not continually surpassing themselves.

I do not allude to their wonderful fecundity, which in a hundred years has raised their population from five to eighty millions of souls.

I do not speak of the greatness of their expansion, which has almost quintupled their territorial area in one century; I do not refer to the greatness of their military prowess, which has never yet met a conqueror either by land or sea. Neither am I occupying myself with the greatness of their opulence, which is tending to transfer from London to New York the center of the capital and of the money market of the world. I am thinking only of their benefits to democracy, to right, and to civilization.

Their fundamental principles as colonies were based on religious freedom. Their first charters embodied the essences of liberty of the British constitution. The declarations of rights of their first States came from and originated in the French Revolution. Their Federal Constitution is considered by the best judges as the highest product of political genius extant among mankind. The unrelatable five years of their civil war constituted a most tremendous sacrifice, made by the superhuman heroism of a nation in the higher interests of humanity—for the principle of human freedom.

Their international influence is frequently exerted in the great causes of Christianity and civilization, first struggling as they did against piracy in the Mediterranean, then opening the doors of Japan to the commerce of the world in the Pacific, or fighting for the Armenians against Ottoman despotism, or intervening in behalf of the Jews against the tyranny of the Muscovite; here sympathizing with South America against Spain, with Greece against Turkey, and with Hungary against Austria; there promoting that memorable peace between the Russians and Japanese at Portsmouth, which terminated one of the most horrible hecatombs of peoples on record in the history of warfare. The methods and rules of their teaching, the inspiration of their inventors, the penetrating nature of their institutions, the reproductive influence of their examples, the contagious activity of their doctrines, the active proselytism of their reforms, the irresistible fascination of their originality, the exuberant florescence of their Christianity—all exert a profound influence on European culture and on the morals, the politics, and the destinies of the world, and guide, improve, and transform the American nations.

Nothing, however, could be conceived which would more magnificently crown this miraculous career and assure forever to that nation the title, *par excellence*, of the civilizer among nations, serving the interests of its own prosperity as well as ours by a sincere, effective, and tenacious adherence

to the doctrine announced by Mr. Root, namely, the doctrine of mutual respect and friendship, of progressive cooperation among the American States, large or small, weak or strong; abandoning foolish race prejudices and admitting the superior power of imitation, science, and modern inventions, which are the moral factors in the development of peoples; and recognizing the natural truth that the growing evolution of the human race must embrace in its orbit of light all the civilized nations on this and the other continent.

Everything in the visit of Mr. Root, everything in his words, in his acts, in the impressions left among us by his person—everything speaks to us with absolute sincerity and resolute mind of devotion to this auspicious program. Our eminent guest has seen how Brazil receives the living message of the people of the United States; and, when he returns, a faithful witness of our civilization, which is so little known, so ill-treated, and so calumniated abroad, he will in all probability carry with him a conviction of having found in this disliked South America, between the Oyapoc and the Plate, the Atlantic and the Andes, a not indigenous although new sister of the United States, in which the opinion of public men and popular sentiment have but one ambition in regard to the policy now inaugurated, namely, that it may become rooted for centuries and that it may shelter our future under its branches.

I wished, gentlemen—and all the members of this House wished—that Mr. Root might hear from the mouth of the man of experience, authority, and austere demeanor who is to preside over us the most eloquent and highest of these expressions of good wishes.

For this purpose I move that the Senate resolve itself in due form into a committee of the whole, and that the Secretary of State of the United States be invited to take the position of honor in this assembly which is due him. In this manner the proceedings of the Brazilian Senate and the traditions of this House will preserve the memory of this date forever. For it is not one of those dates which flash by and vanish into the past like falling meteors, but it is of those which seek the future by luminously furrowing the horizon of posterity like ascending stars.

And if the future is to be a substitution of right in place of might, of arbitration in place of war, of congresses in place of armies, of harmony, cooperation, and solidarity among the American peoples in place of hostile rivalries, we may, on seeing seated here to-day at the right of our President the Secretary of State of the United States, affirm to him, as Henry Clay did on the reception of Lafayette, with a different intention but just as truthfully, that he is seated in the midst of posterity.

Speech of Senator Alfredo Ellis.

MR. ELIHU ROOT; HONORABLE SIR:

The Federal Senators, representatives of the Brazilian nation, representing the people of twenty States of the Union and that of the Federal District, here congregated to receive you, through me, salute you, and through you salute President Roosevelt and the whole people of the United States of America. You are truly welcome amongst us, and you are welcome amongst us because we know your history, we know the history of your country, we know the history of your great men from Washington to Roosevelt. We know the history of your country, and we know the history of your great men, because the Brazilian people love you, because the Brazilian people esteem you. You are truly and sincerely welcome amongst us, and you are welcome because you are the fortunate messenger, the happy harbinger of a coming civilization that is looming already in the not-far-distant future, bringing in your hands the snowy and brilliant credentials of brotherhood and peace. Though you come here, Mr. Root, amid the cannon's roar, or the din of popular acclamations, the echo in its grand unanimity that these words awaken in the hearts of the

Brazilian people all throughout the land, from north to south, from east to west, should convince you that we, the Brazilian people, trust that the great work that is now being done through the delegates of the nineteen American Republics that have here assembled for the Third Conference of the Pan-American Congress will bear fruit—that they will bear fruit just the same as that at which the basis was laid a long time ago in Philadelphia, on the 4th of July, 1776, written by Thomas Jefferson and signed by the delegates of nine out of the thirteen colonies that had risen in arms against the mother country. On that eventful and never-to-be-forgotten day, Pennsylvania's delegate—the great, the wise, the noble Benjamin Franklin—with his heart full of sad misgivings, full of sad forebodings, about the final issue of the war, raising himself from the chair on which he had been sitting, observed on its back, embroidered on the tapestry, the figures of a beaming sun with its golden rays. "I do not know," he said, "if this is the image of a rising or a setting sun; please God Almighty that it may be that of a rising sun, enlightening the birth of a free and prosperous people!" And it was—and it was. His wish—his dear wish—was fulfilled; his prophecy was realized. The country you represent now, Mr. Root, is the wonder of the world for its greatness, for its power, for its prosperity.

What we desire—what the Brazilian people desire—what we hope, is that in your case the same

prophecy may be made and the same prophecy may be realized in relation to the final ends that we expect of the Pan-American Conference, strengthening with indissoluble bonds of harmonious concord, and a very lasting peace, American brotherhood; banishing, at the same time, from the lands of the New World all ambition of conquest and the bloody strife of fratricidal wars.

To the American people, our brothers, our friends, and our companions, the Brazilian world, treading the same paths and enlivened by the same great desire to attain its destinies in the history of the world, sends through you its most affectionate, its most fraternal, its most hearty salutation.

Reply of Mr. Root.

MR. CHAIRMAN; SENATORS OF BRAZIL:

I beg you to believe in the depth of sensibility with which I have received the honor you do me, and the honor you do to my country. The similarity of our institutions is such that I come into the presence of this august body with full appreciation of its dignity and its significance. I feel that I am in the presence of the great law-making body to which is intrusted, by its representation of the separate States of Brazil, the preservation of local self-government throughout this vast empire; so that the people of each one of your twenty States, and each one of the many States to be erected hereafter, as your population increases, may govern itself in its local affairs without the oppression which inevitably results from the absolute rule of a central power ignorant of the necessities and of the feelings of each locality; and so that also, consistently with that local self-government, the nationality of Brazil shall be preserved and the principle of national power, the dignity and power of the nation that protects all local self-governments in their liberty, shall never be decreased. I feel also that I am in the presence of the body from which

must come, not only in the present but in the great future of Brazil, that conservative force which is so essential to regulate the action of a democracy. By your constitution, by the necessities of your existence, it will be your function to prevent rash and ill-considered action—to see that all the expedients of government, all the theories that are suggested, are submitted to the test of practical experience and sound reason.

And so, with the deepest interest in the continued success of the Brazilian experiment in self-government, I am most deeply impressed with the honor you have done me. The encomiums which have been passed here upon my country are such that to know of them must in itself be an incentive to deserve them. I hope that every word which has been spoken here about that dear Republic from which I come may go to the knowledge of every citizen of the United States of America, and may lead him to feel that it is his duty to see that this good opinion of our sister Republic is justified. Senator Ruy Barbosa has justly interpreted the meaning of my visit. I come not merely as the messenger of friendship; I come as that, but not merely as that. When democratic institutions found their place first in the protests of the New World against the colonial government that bound us all hand and foot; when the plain people undertook to govern themselves without any Heaven-sent superior force to control them, how gloomy were the prognostications, how unfriendly

were the wishes, how uncomplimentary were the expressions which, upon the other side of the Atlantic, greeted the new experiment—that we should have rule by the mob, that disorder and anarchy would ensue, that plain men were incapable, and always would be incapable, of maintaining an orderly and peaceful government. Lo, how the scene has changed! The conception of man's capacity to govern himself, gaining year by year credit, belief, demonstration in the new fields of virgin lands, north and south, has been carried back across the Atlantic until the old idea of a necessary sovereign is shaken to the base. No longer is it man's conception of government that it must be by a superior force, pressing down what is bad; but that it shall be from beneath, with all the good impulses and capacities of human nature pressing upward what is good. I come here both to hold out the right hand of friendship to you from my country, and also to assert in the most positive, the most salient way the solidarity of republican institutions in the New World, the similarity of results, the mutual confidence that is felt by my country in yours and by yours in mine; to assert before all the world that the great experiment of free self-government is a success north and south, the whole New World over. From the realization of this fact—this certain and indisputable fact—that republican institutions are successful, will come that confidence which underlies wealth, the security of property that is the basis of our civilization, the certainty that the fruits of enterprise will

be secure, which is the incentive to activity, the independence of the people from the hard stress of poverty—the independence that comes from ample means of support, and is a condition of growth and enjoyment in life. More than wealth, more than production, more than trade, more than any material prosperity, there will come with them learning, universal education, literature, arts, the charms and graces of life. I would think but little of my country if it had merely material wealth. I would think but little of my country if the conception of its people was that we were to live like the robber baron of the Middle Ages, who merely gathered into his castle for his own luxury the wealth that he had taken from the surrounding people.

A land of free institutions, in which wealth and prosperity are made the basis upon which to build up the arts, graces, and virtues of life, and in which there is a noble and generous sympathy with everyone laboring in the same cause—that, indeed, is a country of which one may be proud; that is a country which is the natural result of free institutions.

So I come to you to say: Let us know each other better; let us aid each other in the great work of advancing civilization; let the United States of North America and the United States of Brazil join hands, not in formal written treaties of alliance, but in the universal sympathy and confidence and esteem of their peoples—join hands to help humanity forward along the paths which we have been so

happy as to tread. Let us help each other to grow in wisdom and in spirit, as we have grown in wealth and prosperity. Mr. Chairman, my poor words are all too ineffective to express the depth of sentiment and height of hope that I experience here. I believe this is not an idle dream; I believe it is not merely the kindly expression or enthusiasm of the moment, but that after this day there will remain among both our peoples a sentiment which will be of incalculable benefit to the great mass of mankind, which shall help these two great nations to preserve and promote the rule of ordered liberty, of peace and justice, and of that spirit which underlies all our Christian civilization, the spirit of humanity, higher than the spirit of nationality, more precious than material wealth, indispensable to the true fulfillment of the mission of liberty.

Speech of Doctor Paula Guimarães in the Chamber of Deputies of Brazil, at Rio de Janeiro, August 2, 1906.

[Translation from the Portuguese.]

The Chamber of Deputies feels itself honored by the presence of Mr. Elihu Root, Secretary of State of the United States of America.

The distinguished member of the Government of our great sister Republic, whose coming to this country is a mark of regard and esteem which is very flattering to us and which will never be forgotten, has already had opportunity to ascertain how deep and sincere are the sentiments of sympathy which the people of Brazil feel for the North American Republic, in the extraordinary demonstrations of joy and gratitude which have everywhere attended him and which are an eloquent proof of the sincerity and cordiality of our traditional friendship and disinterested admiration.

The entrance of Brazil into the family of Republics of the American Continent has resulted in closer ties of confraternity among the nations of the New World. As a result of the policy of approximation, happily adopted by the Government of Brazil, we have the meeting in this capital of the

Pan-American Congress, where the distinguished delegates of the sister Republics have been given a warm and hearty welcome. From the White House, where President Roosevelt firmly maintains the tradition of great American names, there has come to us on a mission of peace an eminent and highly esteemed statesman, bringing us political ideas of a new mold and the frank diplomacy of modern democracies. In words of the highest significance, which are unsurpassed for precision and frankness, the far-seeing statesman has revealed to us the ideal of justice and peace to which humanity in the near future is to attain, because the rule of force "is losing ground," and "sentiment, feeling, and affection are gathering more and more sway over the affairs of men." The words of the distinguished American are familiar to the whole world, but here they are firmly engraved on our loyal hearts.

Differences disappear before the great historic fact at which it is our good fortune to be present at this moment, the beginning of a new era which is bound to bring great benefits to our country. The students, full of hope and enthusiasm, the orderly working people—all classes of society, in short, unite with the public officials in unanimity of ideas and of applause.

Gentlemen, it is to confirm these sentiments which every Brazilian feels, to proclaim the national aspiration of harmony, conciliation, and union, that I arise to thank, in behalf of the Chamber of

Deputies, the representative of the popular will, Mr. Elihu Root, for his presence among us, and to greet in his person the great and glorious Republic of the United States of North America, greater for the example it gives us of liberty, energy, and order than for its extraordinary material strength.

Glory to the Stars and Stripes!

Speech of Doctor James Darcy.

[Translation from the Portuguese.]

The same deep and profound emotion which I, as a Brizilian and an American, feel in this hour is undoubtedly felt by all here on the floor—representatives of the nation, and identical with the nation itself. When the Chamber of Deputies sees the Secretary of State of the United States of America in the gallery, it can not go on with its regular work for a minute longer even. So great and extraordinary have been the demonstrations occasioned by the presence in our country of the great envoy of the great Republic of the United States that it is necessary that the Chamber, in this hour unequaled in the whole life of the American Continent, manifest without delay its feelings of sympathy with the work for the closer approximation of the American nations.

In Scandinavia, the land of almost perpetual fogs and mists, there died not long ago an extraordinary man. Ibsen, by some called revolutionary, by others evolutionary, dreamed in all his works of a new day of peace and concord for all mankind. This dream did not exist in the poet's brain alone,

for it has imbedded itself in the mind and heart of a great American politician—Elihu Root.

From the moment he set foot on Brazilian soil he has been received with loud acclamations of joy, in which all Brazilians have joined. The demonstration which the student body of Brazil made a short time ago, which for enthusiasm and spontaneity of feeling has never been equaled, manifested our feeling toward Mr. Root.

In his speech at the Third Conference of the American Republics, the statesman, the philosopher, the sociologist, the great humanitarian that Elihu Root is, opened up a new era for the countries of the continent of such an order that the old standard of morality has fallen to the ground in ruins. On the public buildings, on the fortresses and masts of war vessels, waves the same flag—a white flag, reminding the American people that a new epoch of fraternity has risen for them.

Nothing has ever done so much for peace as this visit of Elihu Root among us. It forms a spectacle that must mark an epoch in our national life. The Chamber of Deputies, interpreting the unanimous sentiment of the nation, from north to south, of old and young alike, has suggested that I offer a motion, which is already approved in advance, and make the request that Mr. Elihu Root be invited to take a seat on the floor of the Chamber, as a mark of homage in return for the honor he has done us in making a visit to this House.

The memory of this visit will live forever in our hearts. He who bestows all favors will undoubtedly reward those who have done so much for American peace and fraternity by setting them up as models for the whole world.

Reply of Mr. Root.

Mr. President, and Members of the Chamber of Deputies:

I thank you sincerely for the flattering expressions which, through your able and happy spokesmen, you have made regarding myself. I thank you still more deeply for the expressions of friendship for my country. I beg you to permit me in my turn to make acknowledgment to you, the representatives of the people of Brazil—acknowledgment which I can make to the President of the Republic, which I can make personally to your distinguished and most able Secretary for Foreign Affairs, but which I wish to make on this public occasion to the people of Brazil. I wish to thank the Brazilian people for sending to my country a man so able and so successful in interpreting his people to us as my good friend Mr. Nabuco. I wish to thank the people of Brazil—its legislators, its educated men of literature and of science, its students in their generous and delightful enthusiasm, and its laboring people in their simple and honest appreciation—for the reception which they have given me, overwhelming in its hospitality and friendship; for the courtesy, the careful attention to every

detail that could affect the comfort, the convenience, and the pleasure of myself and my family; for the abundant expressions of friendship which I have found in your streets and in your homes; for the bountiful repasts; for the clouds of beautiful flowers with which you have surrounded us; and more than all for the deep sense of sincerity in your friendship which has been carried to my heart. I wish to make this acknowledgment directly to you, the direct and immediate representatives of the people.

We, who in official life have our short day, are of little consequence. You and I, Mr. President, Baron Rio Branco, the President of the Republic himself—we are of little consequence. We come and go. We can not alter the course of nations, or the fate of mankind; but the people, the great mass of humanity, are moving up or down. They are marching on, keeping step with civilization and human progress; or they are lapsing back towards barbarism and darkness. The people to-day make peace and make war—not a sovereign, not the whim of an individual, not the ambition of a single man; but the sentiment, the friendship, the affection, the feelings of this great throbbing mass of humanity, determine peace or war, progress or retrogression. And coming to a self-governing people from a self-governing people, I would interpret my fellow-citizens—the great mass of plain people—to the great mass of the plain people of Brazil. No longer

the aristocratic selfishness, which gathers into a few hands all the goods of life, rules mankind. Under our free Republics our conception of human duty is to spread the goods of life as widely as possible; to bring the humblest and the weakest up into a better, a brighter, a happier existence; to lay deep the foundations of government, so that government shall be built up from below, rather than brought down from above. These are the conceptions in which we believe. True, our languages are different; true, we draw from our parent countries many different customs, different ways of acting and of thinking; but, after all, the great, substantial underlying facts are the same, humanity is the same. We live, we learn, we labor, and we struggle up to a higher life the same—you of Brazil and we of the United States of the North. In the great struggle of humanity our interests are alike; and I hold out to you the hands of the American people, asking your help and offering you ours, in this great struggle of humanity for a better, a nobler, and a happier life. You will make mistakes in your council—that is the lot of humanity; no government can be perfect—till the millennium comes; but year by year, and generation by generation, substantial advance towards more perfect government, more complete order, more exact justice, and more lofty conceptions of human duty will be made.

God be with you in your struggle as he has been with us! May your deliberations ever be ruled by

patriotism, by unselfishness, by love of country, and by wisdom, for the blessing of your whole people, and may universal prosperity and growth in wisdom and righteousness of all the American Republics act and react throughout the continents of America for all time to come!

Speech of Theodomiro de Camargo, of the São Paulo Law School, at a mass meeting of students in front of the Palacio Chaves, at São Paulo, August 4, 1906.

Secretary Root; Honorable Sir:

The Law School of São Paulo is the tabernacle of our proudest ideals, of our most grateful traditions. Thence departed the first champions of liberty for the holy crusade of the slaves' liberation; there expanded and strenghtened the republican ideas that caused the fall of the Monarchy; thence have come almost all our rulers and leading men.

It is in the name of that school, sir, that I salute you and give you welcome, not only as the eminent statesmen, but also and specially as the loyal and dedicated friend of Brazil.

I can assure you that common to all Brazilians are the sentiments of true sympathy and great admiration for the noble country which has in you so worthy a representative. This sympathy and this admiration, common to all Brazilians, are well deserved by the wonderful people which liberated Cuba with the precious blood of her sons; are well deserved by the generous nation which contributed so much in hoisting in the Orient the banner of

peace, putting an end to one of the most sanguinary struggles that is registered in universal history. The deep joy with which you have been received since you set foot on Brazilian soil is sufficient to assert what I say.

We rejoice to receive your visit because it is a proof that our feelings are reciprocated, and also because it will be a stronger link to bind forever the two great Republics that by their importance are destined to lead their American sisters through the wide path of progress and civilization.

President McKinley wisely said: "The wisdom and energy of all the nations are not too great for the world's work;" so our earnest vows are that your voyage cooperates for the true fraternity of the American Republics, that they may work together in the pursuit of the highest and noblest endeavors of humanity, which is universal peace.

Speech of Mr. Galaor Nazareth de Arujo, of the Normal School.

"Be welcome, distinguished visitor!" This phrase, so often addressed to you during your voyage in Brazil, may now be said again to express the sincerity with which the people of São Paulo receives the visit of one of the greatest statesmen of modern America.

Amongst the institutes of education of this city there is the Normal School, which has always tried to follow the methods and systems in use in your great country.

In the name of this institution and representing my colleagues, I come before you, sir, to repeat, with all my heart, the same words you have heard so many times in Brazil: "Be welcome, Mr. Root!"

Speech of Mr. Gama, jr., of the Commercial School.

Honorable Mr. Secretary of State:

A representative of a peaceful people is always welcome to Brazil.

You know already our traditional policy. From the beginning of our existence as a nation we have accustomed ourselves to see in your glorious country the nation which, first of all, substituted, in the competition in which, in some way, the so-called dominant nations engage, military imperialism by the beneficent and civilizing policy of free commercial expansion, joining producers and consumers without any link of dependence.

We followed with ardent sympathy your liberal and eminently humane action in the Chinese Empire, at the moment when that Monarchy seemed doomed to dismemberment.

And you, sir, were the first to make understood the need of the maintenance of the administrative and territorial *statu quo* of that Empire, to which you are to-day the securest guaranty of national integrity, along with that of other nationalities of the Far East.

You come to us, therefore, with the credentials of a peaceful people, and of a people that respects the autonomy of other nations, no matter how weak they may be.

In this quality we open to you our arms, and we heartily meet your wishes in the assurance that we contribute to the development of the ideas of peace and steadiness without which the evolution of a people can only be accomplished imperfectly and at the cost of many centuries of hard efforts.

The United States of Brazil acknowledged the advantages of a perfect communion of views in commercial matters with their great sister of North America. They were aware that essentially opposite points of view regarding commercial interchange separate them from some of the nations of the Old World.

So long as on the other side of the Atlantic an almost invincible barrier of customs duties impedes the entry of our products in markets naturally hostile to South American productions our country has only two alternatives: either to continue with the very irksome commercial relations with those markets or to look for others with evident loss of a part of the harmony that ought to exist between nations affiliated by origin and for so many years united by the most intimate links of sympathy and intellectual solidarity.

Consequently, we adopted the legitimate defense of protectionism while remaining faithful to those

friendly feelings, and very naturally we turned to the continental nation that understood better the advantages of a free exchange of products; we looked unsuspiciously to the friendly people who conceived the idea of making in America, united and strong, a large neutral area devoted to peace amidst the possible divergencies that may perchance in time separate in aggressive antagonism a rejuvenated and martial Orient and the nations of the West.

We understood at once the difficult task that had to be accomplished in order, by your side and with your aid, to secure the neutralization of America, so desirable and so necessary for the final reconciliation of nations still militarized, and for the establishment of a secure standpoint for the general confraternization of mankind.

All the enthusiastic appreciation of the twenty-one democracies that follow and love your deed, and all the facilities and cooperation that they can offer for its accomplishment, you will find, sir, should you visit them as you now do, one of their number, in the corresponding twenty-one Brazilian capitals.

The Commercial School of São Paulo, from which very likely will come out later commercial agents of Brazil, sincerely espouses your policy of peace and solidarity on the American Continent, and in the person of its eminent chancellor salutes the noble North American nation.

Reply of Mr. Root.

I thank you, students of São Paulo, for your greeting and for your generous sympathy.

I am here upon a mission of friendship and of appreciation.

I am here in order that my country may know more of the people of Brazil, and in order that the people of Brazil may learn more of my country, believing that the cause of almost all controversy between nations, the most fertile source of weakness and of war, is national misunderstanding and the prejudice that comes from misunderstanding.

I shall go back to my country and tell my people that I have found in this famous city of learning, São Paulo, a great body of young men who are gathering inspiration in the cause of learning and of human rights from the atmosphere of liberty and independence.

I shall tell them that here, where the independence of Brazil was born, the spirit of that independence still lives in the youth of Brazil.

I shall tell them that here in the birthplace of presidents more young Brazilians are treading the first steps in the pathway of patriotism and greatness, pressing on to take the place, to take up and

continue the great work of the men born in São Paulo, who have contributed so mightily to the greatness of Brazil.

Let me say, young gentlemen, one word as to the lessons that you draw from your country's glorious past.

Noble and inspiring as are the victories Brazil has won in war; remarkable, eloquent, unsurpassed as are the great things done in the past by the Paulistas, greater and nobler victories of peace await the people of Brazil and São Paulo.

You have, as my country had, a vast continent with savage nature to subdue.

You have, as my country had with almost immeasurable forests fit for human habitation, to welcome to your free land the millions of Europe seeking to escape from hard conditions of grinding poverty. You have before you that noblest product of our time, that chief result of our institutions, the open path to progress and success for every youth of Brazil. Because this is a free land, because you are a Republic, because you are a self-governing people, there is no limit to what each one of you may accomplish by the exercise of your own knowledge, determination, and ability. It is the free spirit that keeps open the door of that limitless expanse, and that will conquer the wilderness and make Brazil a refuge for the poor of other lands and a country rich and teeming with people, prosperous, learned, and happy in the years and centuries to come.

Speech of Mr. Root on presentation of football trophy, São Paulo, August 4, 1906.

The pleasant and honorable duty of presenting to you this prize of success in the fine and rapid and skillful game which we have just witnessed has been delegated to me by the kindness and consideration of the president and government of the State of São Paulo.

It is a fitting act with which to signalize my first visit to this historic and famous city, this ancient center of activity and manly vigor—this State famous for centuries for its great and noble deeds, and known now throughout the world for its successful industry and commerce, and known also as the home of great men, great patriots in the history of Brazil.

May the generous emulation of this courteous and gentlemanly game which you have been playing be a symbol of activity in the commercial, industrial, and social life of the country; above all, may it be a symbol of your lives as patriots, as citizens of Brazil. Let the best man ever win. Let activity and skill and pluck ever have their just rewards. Do for your country always as you have done for your rival teams in this game of football. Do

always your best, and do it always with good temper and kindly feeling, whatever be the game.

I congratulate you, sir, and your associates, in being citizens of a country and of a State—both you of Rio de Janeiro and you Paulistas—where the rewards of enterprise and activity are secure, and where there is open to every youth the pathway of success by deserving success. May this prize be an incentive to you and your comrades to exercise every manly effort, both for yourselves and for your country.

Speech of Doctor Rezende at the Commercial Association of Santos, August 7, 1906.

Mr. Elihu Root; Your Excellency:

On behalf of the Board of Directors of the Commercial Association of Santos, I bid you welcome.

The men gathered in this hall to greet you are cosmopolitan in character—Americans, Europeans, and Brazilians—men who have united their best efforts in the great movement of distributing coffee throughout the whole world.

Coffee is our staple product, and for many years to come is bound to be the backbone of our financial system.

The value of this great product is, however, much greater than is shown by the simple figures of statistics.

In order to understand its true value we must add to it the other articles which are produced with it, and which are unknown to the commercial world.

Coffee also means corn, beans, rice, cattle, etc., which are abundantly raised by our coffee planters; coffee means also all of our infant industries and those prosperous towns which dot the romantic shores of the Tieté, Paranahyba, and the Mogy-

Guasú. For us, sir, coffee means plenty, prosperity, and perhaps greatness.

It is therefore easy to see how deeply we are interested in the growth of American commerce and civilization. The American people need for their trade nearly eleven million bags of coffee per annum, or almost all of an average crop of the State of São Paulo.

It is not necessary for me to lay special stress on this main fact, production and consumption; one is the complement of the other, and in the development of both our activities and interests are so identified that we can not talk of coffee without thinking of its greatest consumer, the American people.

Seventeen years ago, in 1889, Mr. James G. Blaine, one of your most distinguished statesmen, called together the first Pan-American Congress in Washington. It is a long time for us business men to wait.

We feel, however, that the ideals of that great statesman have not yet been realized. The great distance which separates us is, perhaps, somewhat responsible for the want of closer relations between our peoples; and when your visit to our shores was first announced, we Brazilians all felt that your presence in Brazil meant a new departure in American-Brazilian relations.

We are looking forward with eagerness for the results of the sessions of the Pan-American Congress in Rio, and this interest has been greatly

augmented by the high honor you confer upon us in selecting this momentous opportunity to visit our people and our country, thus strengthening the ties of friendship between Americans and Brazilians; and though we belong to a class accustomed to consider only facts and cold figures, we are deeply touched by this high distinction, and, representing the Santos Board of Trade and the coffee planters of São Paulo—the greatest coffee producers of the world—I offer most hearty greetings to you, and through you to the great American people, the biggest consumers of coffee in the world.

Reply of Mr. Root.

MR. PRESIDENT, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMERCIAL ASSOCIATION OF SANTOS:

It is a great pleasure for me to represent here in this great commercial city the best and largest customer you have. The United States of America bought in the last fiscal year, the statistics of which have been made public, from the United States of Brazil about $99,000,000 worth of goods and we sold to Brazil about $11,000,000 worth of goods. I should like to see the trade more even; I should like to see the prosperity of Brazil so increase that the purchasing power of Brazil shall grow; and I should like to see the activity of that purchasing power turned towards the markets of the North American Republic. I am well aware that the course of trade can not be controlled by sentiment or by governments. It follows its own immutable laws and is drawn solely in the direction of profit. But there are many ways in which the course of trade can be facilitated, can be stimulated, can be induced and increased. Mutual knowledge leads to trade. All the advertisement in the world which pays is but the means of carrying information, knowl-

edge, and suggestion to the mind that reads the advertisement. Mutual knowledge as between the people of North America and the people of Brazil—knowledge as between the individual people—will increase the trade. Our people will buy more coffee and more sugar and more rubber from the people they know, from the various trading concerns that they know about, than they would from strangers. Mutual knowledge can not exist without mutual respect. I believe so much in the goodness of humanity that I think no two people can know each other without respecting each other.

There is the friendliest feeling in the United States of America for the people of Brazil, and we believe that there is great friendliness in this country for the people of the United States. We wish to be good friends and even better friends; to enlarge our mutual trade to the advantage of both; and it is to express that feeling to you from my people with all the kindliness and friendship possible that I am here in Brazil. It has been a great privilege to me to see something of your great coffee production—from the coffee plant on its red platform of the peculiar soil of São Paulo to the bags of coffee being carried at the dock to the steamer in which it is to be transported to the markets of the world. It is pleasing to me to see that the great commercial port of Santos has by the improvement of its harbor facilities become more and more great and has done away with the unhealthiness that once existed. I

congratulate you upon the fact that you have made your port and your city so healthy that yellow fever no longer exists.

This is probably the last word I shall utter in public before I leave the coast of Brazil, and I shall, as I pass from among you, endeavor to make my last word an expression of grateful appreciation for all the courtesy, the kindliness, and the friendliness which has surrounded me during every hour from the moment since I first landed at Para three weeks ago to-day. My reception and that of all my family—the attentions that have been paid to us, the kindness that has been exhibited—far exceed anything that I anticipated or had hoped for, and I beg you to believe that we shall never forget it. We shall make it known to our people when we return home. I believe that it will increase the friendship they feel for the people of Brazil; and it is with the greatest satisfaction that I shall feel entitled upon my return to say to the people of the United States that I have found in the Republic of Brazil a country to which the laborers of the world may come to make new homes and to rear their families in prosperity and in happiness; that I may say to my people that I have found in the Republic of Brazil a country where capital is secure, where the rights of man are held sacred, and the rewards of enterprise may be reaped without hindrance. I shall go from you with the hope that in my weak way I may do what it is possible for one man to do

in return for all the friendship that you have shown me throughout Brazil—may give my evidence in aid of turning towards your vast and undeveloped resources that immigration and that capital which have been the means of building up and developing the vast riches of my own country. I hope that the same brilliant and prosperous success that has blessed my own land may for many a generation to come visit the people of Brazil. I hope that for many a year to come the two peoples, so similar in their laws, their institutions, their purposes, and the great task of development that lies before them, may continue to grow in friendship and in mutual help. And so, gentlemen, I make to you, and through you to the people of Brazil, my grateful and appreciative farewell.

III.

Speeches in Uruguay.

Speech of His Excellency José Romeu, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Uruguay, at a banquet given by him to Mr. Root in the Foreign Office at Montevideo, on August 10, 1906.

[Translation from the Spanish.]

When, after plowing through the waters of the Caribbean Sea and running along the eastern coast of Brazil, the North American cruiser *Charleston* entered into the magnificent bay of Rio de Janeiro I had the opportunity of sending to the illustrious representative of the United States, who to-day is our distinguished guest, a telegraphic greeting on the occasion of his arrival in South America and expressing the desire that with his arrival might be the beginning of an era of fraternity and of labor advantageous to all the nations of the American Continent.

The words of that telegram, the significant reply of the Secretary, and the very eloquent words he delivered before the Pan-American Congress at Rio de Janeiro are not, in this case, a mere act of international courtesy; they are, in my judgment, the expression of the popular sentiment. They constitute the aspiration of all America. They are, at the

least, the fervent desires of the Uruguayan people and of its Government, who see in the visit of the illustrious Secretary of State the foreshadowing of progress, of culture, and fraternity, which bring the peoples closer together, contributing to their prosperity and to their greatness, through which they may figure with honor in the concert of civilized nations.

These sentiments, as is well known, have been increasing along with the events that have made a vigorous people of the great Northern Republic, capable of preponderating in the destinies of humanity on account of the enterprising genius of all its sons, on account of the irresistible force of its energies and of its abundant riches, and, very especially, on account of its redeeming influence of republican virtues, a characteristic mark of the Puritans and the other elements who organized the Federal Government on the immovable base of liberty, justice, and democracy.

The pages of history show us that the ideals of its own Constitution, like every great and generous ideal, passing over the distance from the Potomac to the banks of the River Plate, penetrated immediately to the farthest corner of the American Continent, there arising soon afterwards a New World of free countries where the undertakings of Solis or Pizarro and of Cortes will initiate a civilization destined to prosper in the life-giving blast of liberty and in the vigorous impulse which democracy

infused into the old organizations of the colonial régime. The example of the United States and its moral assistance animated the patriots.

Put to the proof in the memorable struggle for emancipation, its fortitude and its heroism overturned all obstacles until the desired moment of consolidation, by its own effort, of the independence of the American Continent. Indeed, the influence of the United States in the diplomatic negotiation which preceded the recognition of the new nationalities and the chivalrous declaration which President Monroe launched before the world contributed efficaciously to assure the stability of the growing Republic. Its development and its greatness were, from that instant, intrusted to the patriotism of its sons, to the confraternity of the American peoples, and to the fecund labor of the coming generations.

In spite of such social upheavals, which bring with them the ready-made collisions of arms, the antagonism of interests, and the struggle of ideas—inherent factors of every movement of emancipation—the nations of the new continent should not, nor will they, ever forget that from Spanish ground Columbus's three-masted vessel—a Homeric expedition—set forth, founders of numerous peoples and flourishing colonies, leaving in our land mementos, tongue, customs, sentiments, and traditions which the evolutions of the human spirit do not easily obliterate. From noble France and its glorious revulsion against the remnants of feudalism arose the

declaration of the rights of man and equitable ideas which are faithfully portrayed in our democratic institutions. Italy, Germany, and Spain send to America a valuable contingent of their emigration. The currents of commerce and progress were at one time, and they are at the present time, largely fomented by the navy and the capital of Great Britain. From the Foreign Office of that nation, among all the powers of old Europe, emanated the first disposition toward the recognition of American independence. All these circumstances are bonds of consideration which tie us to the European countries, but which do not hinder, nor can they hinder, our relations with the great Northern Republic, as with all those of Latin origin, always being cordially maintained, strengthened, tightened, and increased towards the ends of highly noble and patriotic progress, developing a world policy of wise prevision, tending to consolidate the destinies of the American countries.

Difficulties, soon to disappear, due to the distance and lack of rapid and direct communications, have impeded the active interchange between the United States and this country, barring which no reason exists why their social and commercial relations may not be extended and fomented with reciprocal advantages.

In giving welcome to Mr. Root on his arrival in Uruguayan territory, I consider as one of my most pleasing personal gratifications the fact of having

initiated the idea of inviting our distinguished guest to visit the River Plate countries.

If, as I do not doubt, the visit of the distinguished member of the Government of the United States contributes towards the peoples of the north and the south knowing one another—if the era of pan-American fraternity takes the flight to which we should aspire—if these demonstrations of courtesy are to tend, therefore, towards the progress of the nations of the continent and the mutual respect and consideration of their respective Governments, the satisfaction of having promoted some of these benefits and the honor of a happy initiative, deferentially received by the illustrious Secretary of State, to whom the Oriental people to-day offer the testimony of their esteem and sympathy, belong, at least in part, to the Uruguayan Foreign Office.

I drink, ladies and gentlemen, to pan-American fraternity, to the greatness of the United States of North America, to the health of His Excellency President Roosevelt, to the happiness of Mr. Elihu Root and of his distinguished family.

Reply of Mr. Root.

YOUR EXCELLENCY:

I have already thanked you for that welcome message which greeted my first advent in the harbor of Rio de Janeiro. I have now to add my thanks, both for the gracious invitation which brings me here and for the surpassing kindness and hospitality with which I and my family have been welcomed to Montevideo. It is most gratifying to hear from the lips of one of the masters of South American diplomacy, one who knows the reality of international politics, so just an estimate of the attitude of my own country towards her South American sisters. The great declaration of Monroe, made in the infancy of Latin-American liberty, was an assertion to all the world of the competency of Latin-Americans to govern themselves and their countries. That assertion my country has always maintained, and my presence here is, in part, for the purpose of giving evidence of her belief that the truth of the assertion has been demonstrated; that, in the progressive development which attends the course of nations, the peoples of South America have proved that their national tendencies and capacities are, and will be, on and ever on in the path of ordered liberty.

I am here to learn more, and also to demonstrate our belief in the substantial similarity of interests and sympathies of the American self-governing Republics.

You have justly indicated that there is nothing in the growing friendship between our countries which imperils the interests of those countries in the Old World from which we have drawn our languages, our traditions, and the bases of our customs and our laws.

I think it may be safely said that those nations who planted their feeble colonies on these shores, from which we have spread so widely, have profited far more from the independence of the American Republics than they would have profited if their unwise system of colonial government had been continued. In the establishment of these free and independent nations in this continent, they have obtained a profitable outlet for their trade, employment for their commerce, food for their people, and refuge for their poor and their surplus population. We have done more than that. We have tried here their experiments in government for them. The reflex action of the American experiments in government has been felt in every country in Europe without exception, and has been far more effective in its influence than any good quality of the old colonial system could have been. And now our prosperity but adds to their prosperity. Intercourse in trade, exchange of thought in learning, in litera-

ture, in art—all add to their power and their prosperity, their intellectual activity, and their commercial strength. We still draw from their stores of wealth, commercially, spiritually, intellectually, and physically, and we are beginning to return, in a rich measure, with interest, what we have got from them. We have learned that national aggrandizement and national prosperity are to be gained rather by national friendship than by national violence. The friendship for your country that we from the north have is a friendship that imperils no interest of Europe. It is a friendship that springs from a desire to promote the common welfare of mankind by advancing the rule of order, of justice, of humanity, and of the Christianity which makes for the prosperity and happiness of all mankind. It is not as a messenger of strife that I come to you; but I am here as the advocate of universal friendship and peace.

Speech of His Excellency José Batlle y Ordoñez, President of Uruguay, at the banquet given by him to Mr. Root at the Government House, August 11, 1906.

[Translation from the Spanish.]

We celebrate an event new to South America: the presence in the heart of our Republics of a member of the Government of the United States of the North. That grand nation has wished thus to manifest the interest that her sisters of the south inspire in her and her purpose of strongly drawing together the links that bind her to them.

Born on the same continent and in the same epoch, ruled by the same institutions, animated by the same spirit of liberty and progress, and destined alike to cause republican ideas to prevail on earth, it is natural that the nations of all America should approach nearer and nearer to each other and unite more and more amongst themselves; and it is natural, also, that the most powerful and the most advanced amongst them should be the one to take the initiative in this union.

Your grand Republic, Mr. Secretary of State, is consistent in confiding to you this mission of

fraternity and solidarity with the ideas and intentions manifested by her at the dawn of the liberty of our continent. The same sentiment that inspired the doctrine of Monroe brings you to our shores as the herald of the concord and community of America.

We welcome you most cordially. You find us earnestly laboring to make justice prevail, enamored of progress, confident in the future. Far removed from the European Continent, whence emerges the wave of humanity that peoples the American territories and becomes the origin of nations so glorious as yours, the growth and organization of the peoples in these regions have been slow, and public and social order has been frequently upset in our distant and scarcely populated prairies. But in the midst of these disturbances that have likewise afflicted, in their epochs of formation, almost all the present best constituted nations, sound tendencies and true principles of order and liberty prevail, nationalities are constituted in a definite manner, and republican institutions are consecrated.

Your great nation, Mr. Secretary of State, is not new to this work. She has had important participation in it. I do not refer to the Monroe Doctrine that made the elder sister the zealous defender of the younger ones. I speak of the radiant example of your republican virtue, your industrial initiative, your economic development, your scientific advances, your ardent and virile activity that has

reinforced our faith in right, in liberty, in justice, in the Republic, and has animated us—as a noble and victorious example does animate—in our dark days of disturbance and disaster.

Yes, the epoch of internal convulsions is drawing to its close in this part of America, and the peoples, finding themselves organized and at peace, are dedicating themselves to all those tasks that exalt the human mind and originate, in modern times, the greatness of nations. You tread upon a land that has recently been watered abundantly with blood—upon one in which, nevertheless, the love of liberty, within the limits of order, the love of well-being, and the love of progress under legal and upright governments is intense; upon one in which we live earnestly dedicated, in all branches of activity, to the labor that dignifies and fortifies, certain that for us has commenced an honorable era of internal peace. You have said it, Mr. Secretary of State: Out of the tumult of wars strong and stable governments have arisen; law prevails over the will of man; right and liberty are respected.

But this progress of public reason must be complemented. It is not sufficient that internal peace should be assured; it is necessary to secure external peace also. It is necessary that the American nations should draw near to each other; should know, should love each other; it is requisite to drive away, to suppress the danger of distrust, of rivalry, and of international conflicts; that the

same sentiment that repudiated internal struggles should rise within as against the struggles of people against people, and that these should also be considered as the unfruitful shedding of the blood of brethren; that the calamitous armed peace may never appear in our land, and that the enormous sums used to sustain it on the European and Asiatic continents be employed amongst us in the development of industries, commerce, arts, and sciences.

The work may be realized by determination and constancy. The republican institutions that everywhere prevail on our continent are not propitious to the Cæsars who make their glory consist in the sinister brilliancy of battles and in the increase of their territorial domains. These same institutions give voice and vote in the direction of public affairs to the multitudes, whose primordial interest is ever peace, the sparing of their own blood, that is so unfruitfully shed in the great catastrophes of war.

America will be, then, the continent of peace, of a just peace, founded on respect for the rights of all nations, a respect which—as you, Mr. Secretary of State, have said, in tones that have resounded all over the surface of the earth, deeply moving all true hearts—must be as great for the weakest nations as for the most vast and most powerful empires. This pan-American public opinion will be created and will be made effective, a public opinion charged to systematize the international conduct of the nations, to suppress injustice, and to establish amongst them relations ever more and more profoundly cordial.

Your country and your Government fulfill the part, not of the false friend that anarchizes and weakens her friends that she may prevail over them and dominate them, but that of the faithful and true one who exerts herself to unite them, and, that they may become good and strong, concurs with all her moral power in the realization of this work of the Pan-American Congresses, destined to become a modern amphictyon to whose decisions all the great American questions will be submitted, already giving prestige thereto by such words as you have spoken to the heart of the Congress of Rio de Janeiro, which present to the American world new and grand perspectives of peace and progress.

Mr. Secretary of State, ladies, and gentlemen, in the presence of deeds of this magnitude, inspired and filled with enthusiasm by them, let us pour out a libation to the United States of the North, to its vigorous President, to you and to your distinguished family, the herald of continental friendship, and to the American fatherland, from the Bering Straits to Cape Horn.

Reply of Mr. Root.

MR. PRESIDENT:

I thank you for the kind reference to myself, and I thank you for the high terms in which you have spoken of my country, from which I am so far away. Do not think, I beg you, sir, if I accept what you have said regarding the country I love, that we, in the north, consider ourselves so perfect as your description of us. We have virtues, we have good qualities, and we are proud of them; but we ourselves know in our own hearts how many faults we have. We know the mistakes we have made, the failures we have made, the tasks that are still before us to perform. Yet from the experiences of our efforts and our successes, and from the experiences of our faults and our failures, we, the oldest of the organized Republics of America, say to you of Uruguay, and to all our sisters, "Be of good cheer and confident hope."

You have said, Mr. President, in your eloquent remarks this evening, that the progress of Uruguay has been slow. Slow as measured by our lives, perhaps, but not slow as measured by the lives of nations. The march of civilization is slow; it moves little in single human lives. Through the centuries

and the ages it proceeds with deliberate and certain step. Look to England, whence came the principles embodied in your constitution, and ours, where first were developed the principles of free representative government. Remember through how many generations England fought and bled in her wars of the White and the Red—her blancos and colorados—the white rose of York and the red rose of Lancaster, before she could win her way to the security of English law.

Look to France, whence came the great declarations of the rights of man, and remember—I in my own time can remember—the Tuilleries standing in bright and peaceful beauty, and then in a pile of blackened ruins bearing the inscription, "Liberty, equality, and fraternity," doing injustice to liberty, to equality, and to fraternity. These nations have passed through their furnaces. Every nation has had its own hard experience in its progressive development, but a nation is certain to progress if its tendency is right. It is so with Uruguay. You are passing through the phases of steady development. The restless and untiring soul of José Artigas, who made the independence of Uruguay possible, did its work in its time, but its time is past; it is not the day of Artigas now.

The genius of the two great men, for the love of whom your political parties crystallized upon one side and upon the other, had its day, but that day has passed away. Step by step Uruguay is taking its course, as the elder nations of the earth have been

taking theirs, steadily onward and upward, seeking more perfect justice and ordered liberty.

One of the most deeply seated feelings in the human heart is love of approbation. May we not have such relations to each other that the desire for each other's approbation shall sustain us in the right course and warn us away from the wrong, and help us in our development to preserve high ideals, the ideals of justice and humanity necessary to free self-government? It is with that hope that I am here, your guest. It is with that desire that my people send the message of friendship to yours.

In the name of my President, Theodore Roosevelt, I offer to you, Mr. President, the most sincere assurance of friendship and confidence.

Speech of Doctor Zorrilla de San Martín at a breakfast given to Mr. Root and his family by the Reception Committee, in the Atheneum at Montevideo, August 12, 1906.

[Translation from the Spanish.]

MR. SECRETARY; MADAME:

Before we rise from the table I have the pleasant task of saying to you a few words to reflect and perpetuate the sentiment which has caused us to desire to share with you the bread of Uruguay and to drink in your company the wine which gladdens the heart of man, according to the expression of the Holy Book.

Yes, Mr. Secretary, we feel glad and happy to see you among us, and we wish that this meal, at which, as you see, a representative group of the ladies of Montevidean society surrounds and bestows graceful attention upon your most worthy spouse and your daughter, might be a symbol of the testimonial of the most intense affection which can be shown to a welcome guest—that of opening to you the door of our home, that of introducing you into the affections of our household.

Yes, we feel glad, sir, not only because we have the honor of knowing you to be a gentleman and an illustrious personage who is a glory among the glories of our America, but because—I must be very frank to you now—because we are convinced that this visit of yours will redound to the honor as well as the benefit of that which is dearest to us, of that which we love above all else on earth, namely, our good mother country, Uruguay, this good sovereign mother of ours who is the mistress of our life and whom we can not help believing, under pain of ceasing to be her sons, to be the greatest, the most beautiful, and the most amiable of mothers, just as you think of yours, sir; just as you feel regarding your excellent American land. We, sir, being perhaps carried away by an ingenuous filial illusion, are persuaded that to know our Uruguay is to love her, and for this reason we have desired that you should know her; for this reason we cherish the hope that, when you have returned to your country and recall the sum of reminiscences of this your memorable voyage, pleasant and lucid recollections will burst forth of this people which has been the first to shake your hand upon your setting foot for the first time on the soil of a Republic of subtropical America, and which offers you its bread and drinks with you the wine of friendship in a sincere transport of enduring sympathy.

We thought, Mr. Secretary, that we saw you respectfully kiss the brow of our mother when, in a

moment which should be considered historical, you defined at the Pan-American Congress of Rio de Janeiro the object and character of your visit to the Spanish-American Republics—to these favorite daughters who are advancing slowly but surely up the steep mountain at whose summit the ideal awaits them of self-government, freedom, and order, and the reign of internal justice and peace, which are the foundation and real guaranty of the reign of international justice and peace, to which we aspire.

Yes, Mr. Secretary, you spoke the truth in your memorable speech at Rio de Janeiro, and your words seem like corner stones. Sovereign states are not entities merely coexisting on the face of the earth, but are members of one great palpitating organism, being collective persons who, obeying the same natural law which groups together physical persons into civil and political society, also instinctively group themselves together in order to form the body, the life, and the thought of the international world. But just as social life, far from disparaging the essential attributes of the sacred human person, constitutes the ambient medium necessary to the life, the development, and the attainment of the inalienable destiny of man, so this great commonwealth of nations, whose permanent establishment in America is the earnest desire of the Congress we are holding at Rio de Janeiro, should have as its inviolable basis and essential purpose the life, the honor, the prosperity, and the glory of the sovereign States which constitute it.

You have proclaimed democracy, sir, as the most powerful bond which unites the Republics of America. But democracy is nothing else than the equality of men before the law, and is consequently above all the triumphant revindication of the right of the weak in their relations with the strong. Therefore, sir, in pronouncing this name of our common mother, you did so only in order to proclaim, as the American ideal in the relations of states, the same highly noble principle which governs the relations of free men and which is the essence of our being; you proclaimed, then, a species of international American democracy in the bosom of which all persons should be persons with full self-consciousness, with an individual destiny independent of the destiny of others, with the moral and material means to accomplish this destiny, with freedom, with dignity, and with all the attributes which characterize and ennoble the person and distinguish it from inferior beings.

In order to elevate the moral level of this great international democracy which you have proclaimed and of which our America should be the prototype, there is but one means, namely, to elevate the level of all and every one of the units which compose it, and to stimulate in all and every one of them a consciousness of and pride in their own destiny, an undying love for the abstract idea of country, and a deep conviction that in the sphere of peoples, just as in that of the orbs, there is no star, no matter

how powerful, which can perturb the gravitation of the stars; for over the entire body of the worlds stands the immutable law which governs them, and over this law is the sovereign will of the Supreme Legislator of orbs and of souls.

This was the echo in my mind, Mr. Secretary, of what you said at Rio de Janeiro and of what you are confirming among us. Your words were great and good because they were yours, without any doubt; but they were so, above all, because they were harmonious and in accord with the ideal of justice in pursuit of which humanity is slowly marching—with that solemn diapason hung between heaven and earth which furnishes the pitch from time to time to men and peoples and worlds in order that they may not depart from the universal harmony.

Your words have reverberated like a friendly voice in the depths of the soul of this people, which has acclaimed you without reserve because it has understood you, sir. And for this reason, because I have thought that I interpreted all the generous intensity of your attitude and of your speeches, I have not told you at this time, as would have appeared natural, how much we in Uruguay love and admire your wonderful American country, whose stars shine perhaps without precedent in the sky of human history, but rather how much we respect and with what a passion we love our good Uruguayan mother country, whose sun is also a star; how glad we are to see it honored by your visit, and how we

cherish the hope that you will bear away a remembrance of us as a sincerely friendly people—a people very conscious of its own destinies, of its rights, and of its duties; in a word, a people very much in accord with that grand harmony which exists among sovereign states which respect and love one another, and which you have proclaimed in the name of our country as the supreme ideal of our free America.

Ladies and gentlemen, let us fill our glasses with the most generous wine, with the wine which most gladdens and cheers the heart of man—with the wine of hope—and let us drink to the health of our illustrious guest and messenger who is here the intelligence and the thought of the heart, and to the health of his wife and daughter, who are the amiable symbol thereof; to the greater brilliancy of the stars of his country, our glorious friend; to the realization, on the American continent and throughout the world, of his generous ideas of peace, fraternity, and justice.

Reply of Mr. Root.

MR. CHAIRMAN, SEÑOR ZORRILLA DE SAN MARTÍN, GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE, AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN OF MONTEVIDEO:

I am deeply sensible of the honor which you confer upon me and upon my family by this bounteous, hospitable, and graceful festival. It is a special honor that the banquet to which we are invited should be presided over by a gentleman who has such high esteem in the public life of your own country; that the flattering, the too flattering, words which have been addressed to my poor self—words of just and kindly esteem regarding my great and noble country—should be spoken by a poet who breathes in his verses the spirit of Uruguay wherever his own world-known literature is found.

It is a cause of happiness to receive this distinguished consideration here in this temple devoted to science, to literature, to the arts, to those pursuits which dignify, ennoble, and delight mankind, which give the charm and grace to life, which make possible the continuance of mankind in the paths of civilization. Here in this Atheneum, in this atmosphere of scientific and literary discussion and thought, already exists that world-wide republic

which knows no divisions of territorial boundary, of races, or of creed. Upon the platform which you have erected here, the men of North and the men of South America can stand in fraternal embrace.

I have been preaching for the past few weeks in many places and before many audiences the gospel of international fraternization. I know there are many incredulous; there are many who think practical considerations alone rule the efforts of men—profit in trade, the almighty dollar, the balance of bookkeeping, or the checks in the countinghouse. There are many who think that this is all there is to life and that he is an idle dreamer and insincere orator who talks of the constancy of international friendship, who talks of love of country rising above the love of material things, who talks of sentiment as controlling the affairs of men. That may be true so far as their own short and narrow lives are concerned, but it is not an idle dream that the world through the course of ages is growing up from material to spiritual, to moral, and to intellectual life. It is not an idle dream that moral influences are gradually, steadily in the course of centuries taking the place of brute force in the control of affairs of men. Sentiment rules the world to-day—the feelings of the great masses of mankind; the attractions and repulsions that move the millions rule the world to-day, and as generation succeeds generation progress is ever from the material to the moral. We can not see it in a day; we can not see it in a

single lifetime, as we can not see the movement of the tide. We see the waves, but the tide moves on imperceptibly. The progress, the steady and irresistible progress, of civilization is ever on.

Mr. Chairman, and you, Señor Zorrilla de San Martín, in your eloquent, your more than eloquent, your poetic words to-day do honor to the idea of peace and justice and friendship and the rule of moral qualities in the relations of nations. When you do honor to the representative of that idea you are doing your work in your day and generation to advance the great cause that proceeds through the ages to the better and higher life of mankind. We are nothing; our lives are but as moments; our personal work is inappreciable in this world: but slowly, imperceptibly, we, each individually, add a little to or detract a little from human rights, human liberty, human justice.

I do not know how sufficiently to thank you, to thank the people of Montevideo, for all that you and they have done for me and my family during our brief—our all too brief—visit here. I believe that your kindness, your generous hospitality, will find response in the breasts of my countrymen; I believe that it will be an example to the people of South America and of North America; I believe that it will be evidence to the whole world that the ideas of friendship—of international friendship and courtesy—of kindness rule here in Uruguay; that Uruguay is a part of the great brotherhood of man,

not selfish, but heart open to the best and brightest influences of humanity, doing her part in her time to advance the cause of civilization. I know that when to-morrow morning we sail away from Montevideo we shall all carry with us the most delightful visions of a fair and bright land, of a white city and a beautiful bay; memories of hospitality and friendship, and memories of the most beautiful women. We can never repay you, for your hospitality has been of the kind that asks for no payment; it has been true hospitality. We can only thank you, and thank you we do now and thank you we shall as long as we live.

IV.

Speeches in Argentina.

Speech of Honorable Emilio Mitre, Member of the Chamber of Deputies of Argentina, in reference to the visit of Mr. Root, made in the Chamber of Deputies on July 4, 1906.

[Translation from the Spanish.]

[This speech, although delivered before Mr. Root reached Buenos Aires, had so intimate a relation to his reception as to belong properly in this collection.]

Within a few weeks, Mr. President, Buenos Aires will receive the visit of an eminent personality of the United States, Mr. Elihu Root, who is discharging in that country the duties of Secretary of State.

The Executive of the nation, having official knowledge of the visit of this personage, has already taken measures to entertain him and to make his sojourn in the Argentine Republic agreeable; but it has appeared to me, Mr. President, that the Chamber of Deputies should of itself and spontaneously take an initiative in this manifestation, in view of the personality of the man and in view of the country that Mr. Root represents.

The United States are for us—as is well known—the cradle of our democratic institutions; we are bound to them by those ties of friendship and of

interest that are known to all and which it would be superfluous to enumerate; but apart from this there exist between that country and ours historical bonds that secure our profound sympathies.

It is beneficial from time to time to ascend the currents of history in order to gather in them the lessons of the past which may serve us as a guide in the constant march in the future. When we study in its annals the action of the Government of the United States in the epic of Argentine independence, we encounter demonstrations of a solicitude, of an affection, of a solidarity, of a participation in the struggles of those heroic times so marked that the Argentine spirit necessarily feels itself impressed with the sentiment of intense gratitude and the necessity of repaying in some way those manifestations now somewhat forgotten.

It is of importance, Mr. President, at the present moment that people should know well the other peoples with which they exchange products, manufactures, and ideas, especially when, in respect to the latter, those that they receive surpass in quantity those that they give. And if there is any country that the Argentine people need to know well, any people, in its history, in its methods, in its sentiments, and in its intention, it is the United States of America, the elder sister, the forerunner, and the model.

In the epoch of our independence, Mr. President, the public life of the United States was felt con-

stantly interested in the vicissitudes of the struggle that on both slopes of the Andes and in the regions of Venezuela these peoples waged for their independence. If you read the messages of the Presidents of the United States you find in them, year after year, words that prove the interest of that country in the destiny of these countries. At a date as early as 1811 a message of Madison contains phrases full of sympathy for the great communities which in this part of the world were struggling for their liberty, and the attention of Congress was called to the necessity of being prepared to enter into relations of government to government with them as soon as their independence should be sanctioned.

From the time in which Monroe, the author of the famous doctrine, assumed the Presidency of the Republic, in all the messages at the opening of Congress there is a distinct reference to the struggle of these nations for their independence and in particular to the conflict that developed in the Rio de la Plata and the victorious progress of the arms of Buenos Aires on this and on the other side of the mountains and on the plateau of Bolivia.

In all these documents reference is made to the independence as a probable fact, which must necessarily at that time have exerted an influence in favor of the cause of the patriots; and often the declaration was repeated that, the colonies being emancipated, the United States did not seek and

would not accept from them any commercial advantage that was not likewise offered to all the other nations.

These manifestations which emanated from the Government and reflected the movement of public opinion also found eloquent exponents in Congress.

In the records of the American Congress of 1817, one year after the declaration of independence of the Congress of Tucuman, a famous debate is recorded, begun by Henry Clay, the celebrated orator, who plead the cause of Argentine independence in the most enthusiastic and warmest terms. In this debate a Representative from New York also took a prominent part; this Representative bore the same name as the envoy whom we are to receive from the United States of America, Mr. Root.

Spain had complained of the expeditions that were fitted out in ports of the United States to foment American revolution. The Government was tolerant with these infractions of neutrality; popular sympathy made the condemnation of such conspirators impossible. Spain, with whom the United States had relations of great importance and with whom they were negotiating the cession of Florida, had protested to the Government against these expeditions of its rebellious subjects. The Government, forced to do so, had sent to Congress a message requesting the sanction of a law of neutrality. Clay and Root opposed it, and the latter

said that it was worth while to go to war with Spain if a demonstration in favor of the liberty and independence of those countries could be made. Later, during the Administration of John Quincy Adams, these manifestations of the American Government in favor of Argentine independence are met with on every page of the records of that Congress. In 1818 the first discussion took place in the American Congress—a concrete discussion on the necessity of recognizing Argentine independence. Henry Clay was, as always, the leader of this discussion, following up the movements which he had, with extraordinary zeal, made at reunions, in the press, and in Congress. He delivered a speech that it is impossible for one to read without feeling his spirit moved on observing the solicitude, the interest, with which at that early date this apostle of democracy expressed himself in regard to the struggle of these peoples to gain their final independence.

All, without exception, pronounced themselves in favor of the independence of these peoples, which they recognized in principle. But a parliamentary question of privilege was raised, as to the prerogative of the Executive, it being alleged that the initiative, proposed by Clay, of naming a minister to these countries encroached upon the functions of the Executive when the latter had believed it wise to send simply agents. On this question opinion was divided, but not a single vote was cast that did not express the warmest sympathy with the cause of the patriots.

While such was the action of the American Congress, in the press and in popular meetings manifestations of adhesion to the cause of the South American independence appeared at every moment. But above all, the place where traces of this determined action of the Government of the United States in favor of Argentine independence are found in the records of the State Department at Washington, in which reference is made to the activity of its representative in London, at that time the famous statesman Richard Rush. Rush was the minister of the United States in London from the end of 1817, when he left the post of Secretary of State. He began negotiations immediately with Lord Castlereagh, who was Prime Minister of England, to induce the British Foreign Office to enter upon a policy of frank adhesion to the emancipation of these countries from the dominion of Spain. There we see, Mr. President, how united the action of the United States was in this movement, inspired by the most sincere democratic desires, by a true love of liberty.

The Prime Minister of England received his proposals coldly. England had been appealed to by Spain to mediate between her and the Holy Alliance, in order to obtain the submission of the rebellious provinces, and England had manifested the advisability of acceding to this reintegration of Spanish dominion, on the basis of the return of these countries to a state of dependence, with the condition of a general amnesty.

In the conferences between Lord Castlereagh and Minister Rush, the latter positively declared that the United States could never contribute to such regression and that the aims of their Government entered decidedly into the recognition of the complete independence of America. This was in 1818.

It would occupy much time, Mr. President, but would not be without interest, to review in detail all the negotiations entered into by the North American representative in London from the time of Lord Castlereagh to that of Canning, who succeeded him in the Government after the tragic death of his predecessor.

In February, 1819, Rush notified Castlereagh that the Washington Government considered that the new South American States had established the position obtained by the victory of their arms and that President Monroe had given an exequatur to a consul from Buenos Aires and was resolved at all hazards to recognize Argentine independence. Lord Castlereagh declared himself openly at variance with the views of the Government of the United States and said that Great Britain had done all that was possible to terminate the strife between Spain and her colonies, but always on the basis of the restoration of the dominion of the former. In 1819, then, the United States were the only nation that insisted upon asserting the independence of our country.

Thanks to their attitude, all the attempts begun by the Holy Alliance to suppress the movement for emancipation failed.

The death of Lord Castlereagh did not change the situation. The acts of Canning even, if examined, and if the negotiations of the then American minister are analyzed, leave an impression of opposition, because that great British Minister, who according to history clinched, as it were, the independence of this country with his celebrated declaration, was not always of the same way of thinking and it was necessary for the minister of the United States to inculcate in him the policy of his country in order that he should decide to adopt a policy openly favorable to South American independence. Such is the finding of the most credited of Argentine historians.

March 8, 1822, President Monroe sent to the Congress of the United States his celebrated message proposing the recognition of the Argentine independence. In that message the President renewed his assurances of sympathy for the cause of Buenos Aires and confirmed the entire disinterest with which his Government espoused the cause of the political integrity of the youthful nation. The House of Representatives voted the recognition of Argentine independence unanimously, except for one vote—that of Representative Garnett, who declared that he did not object to the recognition, but that he considered it unnecessary, and cited in support of his view an opinion of Rivadavia on the same matter.

The United States was, then, the first country after Portugal (which through motives of special interest had recognized our independence) to make a similar recognition; and England, which followed them, did not do so until three years later, January 1, 1825.

Even after the recognition of Argentine independence by the United States of America conferences continued to be held in Europe to establish the régime of dominion of the mother country over the already independent colonies. Then new conferences took place with Canning, in which the minister of the United States confirmed anew the policy of his country in the matter of the final recognition of the independence of this Republic. During that period a document appeared that emanated from Quincy Adams, addressed to Rush, in which he declined to enter into the plan of convoking a congress which was intended to treat of the questions of South America, and stated that the United States would never attend that congress unless the South American Republics were first invited.

To accentuate the attitude of his Government well, Quincy Adams adds that if the congress were to take place, with intent hostile to the new Republics, the United States would solemnly protest against it and its calamitous consequences.

The systematic and persistent action of the Government of the Union ended by determining in Canning a policy favorable to South American independence and opposed to the intervention of any foreign power in the destinies of the new Republics.

Great Britain and the United States once in accord, after negotiations in which Jefferson and Madison united their counsel to that of President Monroe, these two patriots expressing themselves in terms of moving eloquence in favor of the cause of emancipation, the question was settled forever.

Some months afterward, December 2, 1823, President Monroe consummated his action by sending to Congress the message that contains the enunciation of his famous doctrine. "America for the Americans," Mr. President, was a formula that, as I understand it, meant the final consecration of the independence of the American nations; it was the voice of the most powerful of them all, proclaiming to the world that conquest in the domain of this America was at an end; it was the notification to the conquering powers of Europe that they should not extend themselves to these continents because the extensive territory thereof was all occupied by free nations, outside of whose sovereignty not an inch was vacant.

The independence of these Republics having been settled on the field of battle by the sole force of the Republics, the declaration of the American President is the culminating act of that grand epic. For the United States it is a stamp of honor; for Europe it is an imposition.

The Monroe Doctrine exists to-day with all the force of a law of nations, and no country of Europe has dared to dispute it.

It is fitting, it is worth while, Mr. President, to appreciate exactly the meaning of this great act, of the splendid attitude, more fertile for the peace of the earth and for its progress than all the conventions that European nations arranged from time to time in order to suspend their quarrels. The American President, in formulating this doctrine, decreed peace between Europe and America, which seemed fatally destined—the former to assault always for conquest, the latter to fight always to defend its frontiers. In short, the Monroe Doctrine has been the veto on war between Europe and America; in its shadow these youthful nations have grown which to-day are sufficiently strong to proclaim the same doctrine as the emblem on their shield. And the most glorious characteristic of this device is that it is a dictate of civilization in the nature of a magnificent hymn of peace which can be chanted at the same time by the European and the American nations, because it avoided that permanent contention that would have subvened if the system of conquest that Europe has developed in regard to certain nations had been implanted here in the territory of South America.

Well, Mr. President, he who is coming to visit us is a conspicuous citizen of that nation, and brings, as it is said—and I believe the Foreign Office already is informed in regard thereto—a lofty mission of peace and fraternity that is of interest to our progress. We ought to take advantage of this

opportunity to give this envoy a reception worthy of his people and worthy of himself.

I have privately communicated to the Minister for Foreign Affairs the idea of this project and I have had the pleasure to hear from his lips the most complete adherence to my declaration that in addition to a bill authorizing the expenses there was the intention of preparing for Mr. Root a manifestation that emanated spontaneously from the Argentine Congress. The Minister believes that this demonstration would be the necessary complement of the demonstration that the National Government is preparing for this envoy.

The historic facts that I have recalled and that are the brief synthesis of an epoch suffice to warrant the Argentine people associating themselves with the initiative of the Government and lending to it their warm interest. I am doubly pleased to have recalled such noble remembrances precisely on the Fourth of July, the day of the anniversary of the independence of the great Republic of the North.

I believe that for these reasons, gentlemen, you will lend your support to this idea and fulfill the purpose for which it is presented.

Speech of His Excellency Doctor J. Figueroa Alcorta, President of Argentina, at a banquet given by him to Mr. Root in the Government House, at Buenos Aires, August 14, 1906.

[Translation from the Spanish.]

MR. ROOT, AND GENTLEMEN:

The American Republics are at this moment tightening their traditional bonds at a congress of fraternity whose importance has been realized by the presence of our illustrious guest, who passes across the continent as the herald of the civilization of a great people.

The world's conscience being awakened by the progress of public thought, the members of the family of nations are trying to draw closer together for the development of their activities, without fetters or obstacles, under the olive branch of peace and the guaranty of reciprocal respect for their rights.

International conferences are one of the happiest manifestations of that tendency, because, in bringing into contact the representatives of the various States, hindrances and prejudices are dissipated,

and there is shown to exist in reality in the collective mind a common aspiration for the teachings of liberty and justice.

America gives a recurring example of such congresses of peace and law. As each one takes place it is evident that the attributes of sovereignty of the nations which constitute it are displayed more clearly; that free government is taking deeper root; that democratic solidarity is more apparent; and that force is giving way more freely to reason as the fundamental principle of society.

The Congress of Rio de Janeiro has that lofty signification. Its material, immediate consequences will be more or less important, but its moral result will be forever of transcendent benefit—a new departure and a step farther in the development of liberal ideas in this part of the American Continent.

Mr. Secretary of State, your country has taken gigantic strides in the march of progress until it occupies a position in the vanguard. It has set a proud and shining example to its sister nations.

As in the dawn of their emancipation it recognized in them the conqueror's right to stand among the independent states of the earth, so likewise it later stimulated the high aspiration to establish a political system representing the popular will, now inscribed in indelible characters in the preambles of American legislation.

The Argentine Republic, after rude trials, completed its constitutional régime, gathering experi-

ence and learning from the great Republic of the North.

The general lines of our organization followed those of the Philadelphia convention, with the modifications imposed by circumstances, by the irresistible force of tradition, and by the idiosyncracies peculiar to the race. The forefathers who drafted the Argentine Constitution were inspired in their work by those who, to the admiration of the world, created the Constitution of the United States.

Many of our political doctrines are derived from the writings of Hamilton, Madison, and Jay; the spirit of Marshall and Taney are seen in the hearings of our tribunals; and even the children in our schools, when they learn to personify the republican virtues, the love and sacrifice for country, respect for the rights of man, and the prerogatives of the citizen, lisp the name of George Washington with that of the foremost Argentines.

Our home institutions being closely united and the shadows on the international horizon having disappeared, the Argentine Republic can occupy itself in fraternizing with other nations, and, like the United States, she aspires to make the ties of friendship sanctioned by history and by the ideal philanthropy common to free institutions more firm.

Your visit will have, in this aspect, great results. We have invited you to visit our territory in order to link the two countries more intimately, and your presence here indicates that this noble object will

be realized, inspired as it is by the convenience of mutual interests and the sharing of noble aims.

You are a messenger of the ideals of brotherhood, and as such you are welcome to the Argentine Republic.

I salute you, in the name of the Government and the people who have received you, as the genuine representative of your country, with that sincere desire for friendship which is loyally rooted in the national sentiment of Argentina.

Gentlemen: To the United States of America; to its illustrious President, Theodore Roosevelt; to the Secretary of State of North America, Honorable Elihu Root!

Reply of Mr. Root.

YOUR EXCELLENCY, AND GENTLEMEN:

I thank you, sir, for your kind welcome and for your words of appreciation. I thank you for myself; I thank you for that true and noble gentleman who holds in the United States of America the same exalted office which you hold here. I thank you for the millions of citizens in the United States. When your kind and courteous invitation reached me, I was in doubt whether the long absence from my official duties would be justified, but I considered that your expression of friendship imposed on me something more than an opportunity for personal gratification; it imposed upon me a duty. It afforded an opportunity to say something to the Government and the people of Argentina which would justly represent the sentiments and the feelings of the people of the United States towards you all. We do not know as much as we ought in the United States; we do not know as much as I would like to feel we know, but we have a traditional right to be interested in Argentina. I thought today, when we were all involved in the common misfortune, at the time of my landing, that, after all, the United States and Argentina were not simply

fair-weather friends. We inherit the right to be interested in Argentina, and to be proud of Argentina. From the time when Richard Rush was fighting, from the day when James Monroe threw down the gauntlet of a weak Republic, as we were then, in defense of your independence and rights—from that day to this the interests and the friendship of the people of the United States for the Argentine Republic have never changed. We rejoice in your prosperity; we are proud of your achievements; we feel that you are justifying our faith in free government, and self-government; that you are maintaining our great thesis which demands the possession, the enjoyment, and the control of the earth to the people who inhabit it. We have followed the splendid persistency with which you have fought against the obstacles that stood in your path, not without the sympathy that has come from similar struggles at home. Like you, we have had to develop the resources of a vast unpeopled land; like you, we have had to fight for a foothold against the savage Indians; like you, we have had conflicts of races for the possession of territory; like you, we have had to suffer war; like you, we have conquered nature; and like you, we have been holding out our hands to the people of all the world, inviting them to come and add to our developments and share our riches.

We live under the same Constitution in substance; we are maintaining and attempting to perfect ourselves in the application of the same principles

of liberty and justice. So how can the people of the United States help feeling a friendship and sympathy for the people of Argentina? I deemed it a duty to come, in response to your kind invitation, to say this—to say that there is not a cloud in the sky of good understanding; there are no political questions at issue between Argentina and the United States; there is no thought of grievance by one against the other; there are no old grudges or scores to settle. We can rejoice in each other's prosperity; we can aid in each other's development; we can be proud of each other's successes without hindrance or drawback. And for the development of this sentiment in both countries nothing is needed but more knowledge—that we shall know each other better; that not only the most educated and thoughtful readers of our two countries shall become familiar with the history of the other, but that the entire body of the people shall know what are the relations and what are the feelings of the other country. I should be glad if the people of Argentina—not merely you, Mr. President; not merely my friend the Minister for Foreign Affairs; not merely the gentlemen connected with the Government, but the people of Argentina—might know the feeling with which the people of the United States are their friends, as I know the people of Argentina are friends of the United States. I have come to South America with no more specific object than I have stated. Our traditional policy in the United

States of America is to make no alliances. It was inculcated by Washington; it has been adhered to by his successors ever since. But, Mr. President, the alliance that comes from unwritten, unsealed instruments, as that from the convention signed and ratified with all formalities, is of vital consequence. We make no alliances, but we make an alliance with all our sisters in sentiment and feeling, in the pursuit of liberty and justice, in mutual helpfulness, and in that spirit I beg to return to you and to your Government and the people of this splendid and wonderful country my sincere thanks for the welcome you have given me and my country in my person.

Speech of Mr. Francis B. Purdie at a reception by American and many English residents held at St. George's Hall, at Buenos Aires, August 16, 1906.

Honorable Mr. Root; Ladies and Gentlemen:

Americans resident in Buenos Aires and in the Argentine Republic are sensible of the honor you have done them by accepting their invitation for this evening, and they appreciate most highly the courtesy of the Argentine Government, whose distinguished guest you are, in allowing them this coveted privilege. As Americans we welcome you to Buenos Aires, and it is our earnest hope that your visit here will result in more closely binding the ties of friendship which unite the great Republics of the North and of the South, and that the knowledge you will gain of this great country and of its magnificent resources will lead to more familiar intercourse and to that good understanding which should exist between nations governed by like principles, living under constitutions framed in a like spirit, and having similar national aims. This gathering is the result of a public meeting called immediately after it was learned that you had accepted the invitation of the Argentine Government to visit this city. It was a meeting typically American, but

which had no dividing line on the question that our Secretary of State was a man whom we would all delight to honor. The executive committee of the North American Society of the River Plate was intrusted with the arrangements. We believe you should know something of that society. Organized only last November, it embraces practically every American in Buenos Aires in its membership. For its age, I am not afraid to say that it is the most flourishing social organization that has ever been established in this country. What is the object of the society? Not, I conceive, such as will arouse antagonism or jealousy in the mind of any man. As set forth in the preamble to its constitution it is: "To keep alive the love of country and foster the spirit of patriotism, * * * and for such other purposes as will advance the interests of our country, encourage and maintain friendly relations with the country of our residence, and assist in promoting closer commercial union between the United States and the countries of the River Plate."

It is an organization framed in the spirit of our beloved Lincoln, "with malice toward none." The society has no political aim or purpose. It plots for nothing but the well-being of all, and wishes for nothing less than the prosperity of the home land and the land of our residence. Its members are imbued with that spirit which is the characteristic American attitude toward all nations and peoples, the spirit of "live and let live." Apart from

all that your visit may mean in international comity, it means much to us here; for you, Mr. Secretary, are the very living embodiment of that spirit to which I have referred, that broad Americanism which does not seek to advantage itself by intruding on the rights of others. Every speech made by you since leaving home has been an inspiration to us, and has strengthened us in our determination to live up to the principles upon which our society is founded. But it is not alone the Americans in Buenos Aires who have come here to-night to greet you and who have wished to do you honor. Your kinsmen from across the sea are here in their hundreds, for when it became known that such a reception as this was contemplated the requests for the privilege of joining with us were so great in number that the sincerity of the English-speaking people could not be questioned, and the American society welcomed the opportunity to invite as its guests as many of the representative British and English-speaking residents of Buenos Aires as this hall would hold, and there is represented here every important public interest and private enterprise in this Republic, and I have the honor, in their name as well as in the name of your countrymen, to assure you that you are in the house of your friends. I have told you, Mr. Root, what your countrymen feel about your coming here; I have referred to the cordial sympathy shown by the English-speaking residents; and it is with feelings

of genuine pleasure that I now make reference to the attitude of the Argentine Government and the Argentine people. This reference will not alone be my personal view, but it is the expression of the feelings of representative Americans in this city which has been voiced at every meeting we have held within the past few weeks. The Argentine people are, and wish to remain, the friends of the United States. Our committees have had the privilege of holding interviews with high officials of the Government, with various committees of the leading citizens, and we have been convinced beyond doubt of the genuine nature of the reception prepared for you. This is too proud a nation to pretend to what it does not feel, and the history of Buenos Aires will convince any student that this city has never been afraid to speak out, to applaud or condemn as its judgment dictated. The Government officials have been sincerely cordial, and they have not been content to merely express their wish to give us every friendly help, they have, apart from their own magnificent preparations, given the Americans here material assistance.

The world owes much of its progress to opposing views, and the healthiest nations have the strongest political parties taking different views on questions of national policy, and these parties reach the public by means of the newspapers. The Argentine Republic is not an exception, but I doubt if there has ever been a theme upon which the press of this

country has been so united as that honor should be shown to you. I speak for Americans when I say that in the Argentine Republic we have found a home where absolute freedom is ours—freedom in every walk of life; freedom for conscience; freedom to live, move, and have our being as God and our own wills may lead us. There are Argentines here to-night who are not one whit behind us in their enthusiasm for you and for all that you represent, and there is a group here of Argentines who have graduated from American colleges who wish to say to you that next to their own country they revere the United States of America. You now know, Mr. Root, what friends you have before you, and we all bid you welcome, thrice welcome, to Buenos Aires.

Reply of Mr. Root.

Mr. Chairman, my countrymen, my countrywomen, my friends from the land whence my fathers came, I need not say that I am glad to meet you. No one far away from his own land needs be told that the looks, faces, sound of voice, of one's own countrymen is a joy to the wanderer in strange lands. Yet I do not find this such a strange land. I find here so many things to remind me of home, so many things that are like our own country, that it seems a little like coming home. Such is the similarity in conditions, in spirit, in purpose; such is the impress of the same institutions and the same principles, that I can not feel altogether a stranger, and when I meet you here at home I feel almost the warmth of my own fireside. I am glad to meet you because I think that perhaps to many of you who have been long in this distant land I may bring pleasant memories of cities and farms and homes left behind many a year ago. But I hope that the new home you have found, the new duties you have taken up, have made you happy, prosperous, useful, full of ambitions, activities, and the satisfactions of life. There have been great changes in the United States of America—of North

America, perhaps I must call it—since most of you left your old homes. When you, Mr. President, left we were a debtor nation; we were borrowing money from Europe to develop our own resources, to build up our own country. Most of the money was coming from our English friends. That capital built up our railways to develop and make possible the wonderful development that has made the United States what it is. We had no capital, no time, no energy, to devote to anything but the task that lay before us to conquer our West and to develop our empty lands. In that distant day, when Henry Clay and John Quincy Adams espoused the cause of the infant Republics of South America, we could have no relations with them but those of political sympathy, because we were too concentrated in the work that lay before us at home. Twenty years ago, when that far-seeing and sanguine statesman Mr. Blaine inaugurated his South American policy and brought about the first American Conference at Washington, and the establishment of the Bureau of American Republics, we were still a debtor nation, with no surplus capital, and engrossed in doing the work at home. It was still impossible for us to have any relations with South America, except those of political sympathy.

But since Mr. Blaine times have changed. We have paid our debts; we have become a creditor rather than a debtor nation. We have for the first time within the last ten years begun to accumulate

surplus capital, and it has accumulated with a wonderful rapidity—a surplus capital to go out and establish new relations with the rest of the world. We now are beginning to be in a position where we can take the same relations towards other countries that England took towards us. We have paid our debts to England; the use of her capital to develop the United States has resulted in great advantage to both of us, and with the payment of the debt there has been left a warm and, I believe, enduring friendship between England and the United States. I should like to see the same thing between the United States and South America. I should like to see the great surplus capital which we are accumulating in the United States of North America turn southwards—to see it used to develop the vast resources of this country, with mutual advantage to both, so that when the time comes in the future, as it will come, when the people of Argentina, with their resources developed, with their population increased, have accumulated all the capital they need and paid their debts, we shall have had our share both in their development and in their prosperity, and an enduring friendship may be left between us.

Now, it has seemed to me, sir, that possibly the opportunity afforded by the kind and courteous invitation of the Argentine Government to visit this country might enable me to do something to this end, just at this juncture when a change in the attitude of the United States toward the rest of the world

is taking place, when the change from the debtor to the creditor nation, is made; from the borrower of money to develop resources, to a country with surplus capital to send out to the world; it seemed to me possible that I might in this visit help to establish the relations which I should like to see existing. I should like to be able to qualify myself to say in the most public way that this is a land to which the poor of all the world, who have enterprise without money, can come and find homes and prosperity, so that by the thousands, by the millions, they may come from the Old World and build up Argentina as they have built up the United States. I feel able to say that this is a shore to which the emigrants from the Old World may come with a certainty of finding homes, occupations, and opportunities for prosperity; that it is a country to which the capital of the United States may come with the certainty that it will be secure, will be protected, and will find profitable employment. I look forward to the time when the wonderful development that is going on now here—not confined alone to this country, but progressing here with an amazing rapidity—will be as great a wonder to the world as the advance which has taken the United States of North America from the feeble fringe of colonists along the Atlantic shore to a great nation of eighty millions, stretching from ocean to ocean. Argentina will take some of our markets from us, but what are they? They will be markets she is

entitled to, and with her prosperity, and with the right understanding and relations between the two countries, our commercial relations with her will more than take the place of the markets she takes away from us. We have nothing to fear in the prosperity of Argentina. We have no cause but for rejoicing in her prosperity, no cause but to aid her by every way in our power in her onward progress, and to do that I believe to be the sincere desire of the whole of the people of the United States.

Mr. President, it is a heavy responsibility which rests upon the citizen of our country who lives in a foreign land. We can misbehave at home and it makes little difference, but every American citizen in a foreign land, every American citizen in the Argentine Republic, is the representative of his country. He needs no commission; no power can prevent his holding a commission to represent before all the people of Argentina the character of his own countrymen. You represent to the people of Argentina our beloved land. What you are they will believe us to be. By your character and conduct their estimate of us rises, and it is with the greatest pleasure that I find here among this people whom I respect so highly, whose good opinion for my country I so greatly desire, the body of Americans, the body of my countrymen, so worthy, so estimable, so high in reputation, so well fitted to maintain the standard of the United States of America, high, pure, unsullied, worthy of all honor.

Speech of Doctor Luis M. Drago, President of the Committee of Reception, at the banquet given by the Committee to Mr. Root at the Opera House in Buenos Aires, August 17, 1906.

[Translation from the Spanish.*]

HONORABLE SIR; GENTLEMEN:

The large gathering here assembled, representative of all that Buenos Aires has of the most notable in science, letters, industry, and commerce, has conferred on me the signal honor of my being designated to offer this banquet to the eminent Minister of one of the greatest nations of the earth, a nation linked to us from the very beginning by many and very real sentiments of moral and political solidarity. This country has not forgotten that in the trying times of the colonial emancipation our fathers could rely on the sympathy and the warm and disinterested adhesion of the American people, our predecessors and our guides in the paths of liberty. The thrilling utterances of Henry Clay defending our cause when everything appeared to threaten our revolution have never been surpassed in their noble eloquence, and it was due to the generosity and

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*Furnished by Mr. Drago.

foresight of their great statesmen that the United State were the first to receive us with open arms as their equals in the community of sovereign nations.

The spiritual affinity thus happily established has gone on strengthening itself almost imperceptibly ever since by the reproduction of institutions and legal customs.

Our charter was inspired by the American Constitution and acts through the operation of similar laws. The great examples of the Union are also our examples, and being sincere lovers of liberty we rejoice in the triumphs (which in a certain sense we consider our own) of the greatest of democratic nations.

George Washington is, for us, of the great figures of history, the tutelar personality, the supreme model, a prototype of abnegation, honor, and wisdom; and there is an important region in the Province of Buenos Aires bearing the name of Lincoln, as a homage to the austere patriotism of the statesman and martyr. The names of Jefferson, Madison, and Quincy Adams are with us household words, and in our parliamentary debates and popular assemblies mention is frequently made of the statesmen, the orators, and the judges of the great sister Republic.

There thus exists, honorable sir, a long-established friendship, an intercommunion of thought and purpose which draws peoples together more closely, intimately, and indissolubly than can be

accomplished by the formulæ—often barren—of the foreign offices.

And the moment is certainly propitious for drawing closer the bonds of international amity which your excellency's visit puts in relief and which has found such eloquent expression in the Pan-American Congress of Rio de Janeiro. Enlightened patriotism has understood at last that on this continent, with its immense riches and vast unexplored extensions, power and wealth are not to be looked for in conquest and displacements, but in collaboration and solidarity, which will people the wilderness and give the soil to the plow. It has understood, moreover, that America, by reason of the nationalities of which it is composed, of the nature of the representative institutions which they have adopted, by the very character of their people, separated as they have been from the conflicts and complications of European governments, and even by the gravitation of peculiar circumstances and events, has been constituted a separate political factor, a new and vast theater for the development of the human race, which will serve as a counterpoise to the great civilizations of the other hemisphere, and so maintain the equilibrium of the world.

It is consequently our sacred duty to preserve the integrity of America, material and moral, against the menaces and artifices, very real and effective, that unfortunately surround it. It is not long since one of the most eminent of living jurisconsults of Great

Britain denounced the possibility of the danger. "The enemies of light and freedom," he said, "are neither dead nor sleeping; they are vigilant, active, militant, and astute." And it was in obedience to that sentiment of common defense that in a critical moment the Argentine Republic proclaimed the impropriety of the forcible collection of public debts by European nations, not as an abstract principle of academic value or as a legal rule of universal application outside of this continent (which it is not incumbent on us to maintain), but as a principle of American diplomacy which, whilst being founded on equity and justice, has for its exclusive object to spare the peoples of this continent the calamities of conquest disguised under the mask of financial interventions, in the same way as the traditional policy of the United States, without accentuating superiority or seeking preponderance, condemned the oppression of the nations of this part of the world and the control of their destinies by the great powers of Europe. The dreams and utopias of to-day are the facts and commonplaces of to-morrow, and the principle proclaimed must sooner or later prevail.

The gratitude we owe to the nations of Europe is indeed very great, and much still we have to learn from them. We are the admirers of their secular institutions; more than once we have been moved by their great ideals, and under no circumstances whatsoever should we like to sever or to weaken even the links of a long-established friendship. But we

want, at the same time, and it is only just and fair, that the genius and tendency of our democratic communities be respected. They are advancing slowly, it is true; struggling at times and occasionally making a pause, but none the less strong and progressive for all that, and already showing the unequivocal signs of success in what may be called the most considerable trial mankind has ever made of the republican system of government.

In the meantime, to reach their ultimate greatness and have an influence in the destinies of the world, these nations only require to come together and have a better knowledge of each other, to break up the old colonial isolation, and realize the contraction of America, as what is called the contraction of the world has always been effected by the annihilation of distance through railways, telegraphs, and the thousand-and-one means of communication and interchange at the disposal of modern civilization.

The increase of commerce and the public fortune will be brought about in this way, but such results as concern only material prosperity will appear unimportant when compared with the blessings of a higher order which are sure to follow, when, realizing the inner meaning of things, and stimulated by spiritual communion, these peoples meet each other as rivals only in the sciences and arts, in literature and government, and most of all in the practice of virtues, which are the best ornament of the state and the foundation stone of all enduring grandeur of the human race.

Gentlemen:

To the United States, the noblest and the greatest of democratic nations!

To Mr. Roosevelt, the President of transcendental initiative and strenuous life!

To his illustrious Minister, our guest, the highest and most eloquent representative of American solidarity, to whom I have not words sufficiently expressive to convey all the pleasure we feel in receiving him and how we honor ourselves by having him in our midst.

Reply of Mr. Root.

MR. PRESIDENT, AND GENTLEMEN:

I thank you for the kind and friendly words you have uttered. I thank you, and all of you, for your cordiality and bounteous hospitality. As I am soon to leave this city, where I and my family have been welcomed so warmly and have been made so happy, let me take this opportunity to return to you and to the Government and to the people of Buenos Aires our most sincere and heartfelt thanks for all your kindness and goodness to us. We do appreciate it most deeply, and we shall never forget it, shall never forget you—your friendly faces, your kind greetings, your beautiful homes, your noble spirit, and all that makes up the great and splendid city of Buenos Aires. It is with special pleasure, Mr. Chairman, that I have listened to that part of your speech which relates to the political philosophy of our times, and especially to the political philosophy most interesting to America. Upon the two subjects of special international interest to which you have alluded, I am glad to be able to declare myself in hearty and unreserved sympathy with you. The United States of America has never deemed it

to be suitable that she should use her Army and Navy for the collection of ordinary contract debts of foreign governments to her citizens. For more than a century the State Department, the Department of Foreign Relations of the United States of America, has refused to take such action, and that has become the settled policy of our country. We deem it to be inconsistent with that respect for the sovereignty of weaker powers which is essential to their protection against the aggression of the strong. We deem the use of force for the collection of ordinary contract debts to be an invitation to abuses in their necessary results far worse, far more baleful to humanity than that the debts contracted by any nation should go unpaid. We consider that the use of the army and navy of a great power to compel a weaker power to answer to a contract with a private individual is both an invitation to speculation upon the necessities of weak and struggling countries and an infringement upon the sovereignty of those countries, and we are now, as we always have been, opposed to it; and we believe that, perhaps not to-day nor to-morrow, but through the slow and certain process of the future, the world will come to the same opinion. It is with special gratification that I have heard from your lips so just an estimate of the character of that traditional policy of the United States which bears the name of President Monroe. When you say that it was "without accentuating

superiority or seeking preponderance" that Monroe's declaration condemned the oppression of the nations of this part of the world and the control of their destinies by the great powers of Europe, you speak the exact historical truth. You do but simple justice to the purposes and the sentiments of Monroe and his compatriots and to the country of Monroe at every hour from that time to this.

I congratulate you upon the wonderful opportunity that lies before you. Happier than those of us who were obliged in earlier days to conquer the wilderness, you men of Argentina have at your hands the great, new forces for your use. Changes have come of recent years in the world which affect the working out of your problem. One is that through the comparative infrequency of war, of pestilence, of famine, the increased sanitation of the world, the decrease of infant mortality by reason of better sanitation, the population of the world is increasing. Those causes which reduced population are being removed and the pressure of population is sending out wave after wave of men for the peopling of the vacant lands of the earth. The other is that through the wonderful activity of invention and discovery and organizing capacity during our lifetime the power of mankind to produce wealth has been immensely increased. One man to-day, with machinery, with steam, with electricity, with all the myriads of appliances that invention and discovery have created, can produce more

wealth, more of the things that mankind desires, than twenty men could have produced years ago, and the result is that vast accumulations of capital are massing in the world, ready to be poured out for the building up of the vacant places of the earth. For the utilization of these two great forces, men and money, you in Argentina have the opportunity in your vast fields of incalculable potential wealth, and you have the formative power in the spirit and the brain of your people.

I went to-day to one of your great flour mills, to one of your great refrigerating plants. I viewed the myriad industries that surround the harbor, the forests of masts, the thronged steamers. I was interested and amazed. It far exceeded my imagination and suggested an analogy to an incident in my past life. It was my fortune in the year when the war broke out between Prussia and France to be traveling in Germany. Immediately upon the announcement of the war, maps of the seat of war were printed and posted in every shop window. The maps were maps of Germany, with a little stretch of France. Within a fortnight the armies had marched off the map. It seems to be so with Argentina. I have read books about Argentina. I have read magazine and newspaper articles, but within the last five years you have marched off the map. The books and magazines are all out of date. What you have done since they were written is much more than had been done before. They are no guide to the coun-

try. Nevertheless, with all your vast, material activity it seems to me that the most wonderful and interesting thing to be found here is the laboratory of life, where you are mixing the elements of the future race. Argentine, English, German, Italian, French, and Spanish, and American are all being welded together to make the new type. It was the greatest satisfaction to me to go into the school and see that first and greatest agency, the children of all races in the first and most impressionable period of life, being brought together and acting and reacting on each other, and all tending towards the new type, which will embody the characteristics of all; and to know that the system of schools in which this is being done was, by the wisdom of your great President Sarmiento, brought from my own country through his friendship with the great leader of education in the United States of America—Horace Mann.

Mr. Chairman, I should have been glad to see all these wonderful things as an inconspicuous observer. It is quite foreign to my habits and to my nature to move through applauding throngs accompanied by guards of honor; yet perhaps it is well that the idea which I represent should be applauded by crowds and accompanied by guards of honor. The pomp and circumstance of war attract the fancy of the multitude; the armored knight moves across the page of romance and of poetry and kindles the imagination of youth; the shouts of the

crowd, the smiles of beauty, the admiration of youth, the gratitude of nations, the plaudits of mankind, follow the hero about whom the glamor of military glory dims the eye to the destruction and death and human misery that follow the path of war. Perhaps it is well that sometimes there shall go to the herdsman on his lonely ranch, to the husbandman in his field, to the clerk in the countinghouse and the shop, to the student at his books, to the boy in the street, the idea that there is honor to be paid to those qualities of mankind that rest upon justice, upon mercy, upon consideration for the rights of others, upon humanity, upon the patient and kindly spirit, upon all those exercises of the human heart that lead to happy homes, to prosperity, to learning, to art, to religion, to the things that dignify life and ennoble it and give it its charm and grace.

We honor Washington as the leader of his country's forces in the War of Independence; but that supreme patience which enabled him to keep the warring elements of his people at peace is a higher claim to the reverence of mankind than his superb military strategy. San Martín was great in his military achievements; his Napoleonic march across the Andes is entitled to be preserved in the history of military affairs so long as history is written; but the almost superhuman self-abnegation in which he laid aside power and greatness that peace might give its strength to his people was greater than his military achievements. The triumphant march of

the conquering hero is admirable and to be greeted with huzzas, but the conquering march of an idea which makes for humanity is more admirable and more to be applauded. This is not theory; it is practical. It has to do with our affairs to-day, for we are now in an age of the world when not governors, not presidents, not congresses, but the people determine the issues of peace or war, of controversy or of quiet. I am an advocate of arbitration; I am an advocate of mediation; of all the measures that tend towards bringing reasonable and cool judgment to take the place of war; but let us never forget that arbitration and mediation—all measures of that description—are but the treatment of the symptoms and not the treatment of the cause of disease, and that the real cure for war is to get into the hearts of the people and lead them to a just sense of their rights and other people's rights, lead them to love peace and to hate war, lead them to hold up the hands of their governments in the friendly commerce of diplomacy, rather than to urge them on to strife; and let there go to herdsman and the husbandman and the merchant and the student and the boy in the street, every influence which can tend towards that sweet reasonableness, that kindly sentiment, that breadth of feeling for humanity, that consideration for the rights of others which lie at the basis of the peace of the world.

V.

Speeches in Chile.

Speech of His Excellency Germán Riesco, President of Chile, to Mr. Root upon his arrival at the Government House, in Santiago, September 1, 1906.

[Translation from the Spanish.]

MR. SECRETARY OF STATE:

I greet you and welcome you in the name of the people and of the Government of Chile, who receive your visit with the liveliest satisfaction.

Your attendance at the congress of fraternity which the American Republics have just held; your visit to the neighboring countries, which we have followed with the geatest interest; and your presence amongst us, after the invitation which we had the honor of offering you, are eloquent testimony of the high-minded intentions, which will necessarily produce much good for the progress and the development of America.

In these moments we feel a most profound gratitude towards your country, towards your worthy President, and towards you, for the friendship and sympathy with which you have joined in the sorrow of Chile because of the disaster which has wounded Valparaiso and other cities of the Republic.

I wish that your stay in this country may be agreeable to you and your distinguished family.

Reply of Mr. Root.

I thank you, Mr. President, for your kind welcome and for your kind expressions, and I thank you for the courteous invitation which led to this visit on my part. After the great calamity which has befallen your country, I should have feared to intrude upon the mourning which is in so many Chilean homes, but I did not feel that I could pass by without calling upon you—upon the representative of the Chilean people—to express in person the deep sympathy and sorrow which I, and all my people, whom I represent, feel for your country and for the stricken and bereaved ones, and the earnest hope we have for the prompt and cheerful recovery of spirit and of confidence and of prosperity after the great misfortune. We know that the spirit and the strength of the people of Chile is adequate for the recovery, even from so great a disaster. No one in the world, Mr. President, can feel more deeply the misfortune that you have suffered than the people of the United States, because you know that in our own country we have recently experienced just such a calamity. I am sure that nowhere in the world will you find so keen a sense of sympathy as is there and as I now express. It may some-

times happen that in adversity stronger friendships arise than in prosperity, and I hope that although I come to bring to you an expression of friendship of the United States of America for the Republic of Chile now while the cloud rests upon you, the effect of the exchange of kind words and kinder feelings in this time may be greater, more permanent, and more lasting than they could have been when all were prosperous and happy.

Speech of His Excellency Doctor Antonio Huneeus, Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the banquet given by the President of Chile to Mr. Root and his family, at the Moneda, September 2, 1906.

[Translation from the Spanish.]

MOST EXCELLENT MR. PRESIDENT; LADIES; MOST EXCELLENT MR. ROOT:

I extend to you the welcome of the people and of the Government. Heartily do I say to you, in the name of all Chileans: Be welcome.

We were preparing to entertain you in magnificent style, but it was the will of Providence to visit us with a bitter trial, so we are now receiving you in a modest manner.

Come and see, sir, what we have suffered. Morally, we have suffered much; for several thousands of our brothers perished in the catastrophe of August 16. Materially speaking, we lose the greater part of our principal port and of several cities of minor importance, together with the profits which cease in consequence. Behold, now, sir, what remains to us and how we are rising! Our productive forces are alive and sound; agriculture, mining, and manufacturing have scarcely suffered, and our saltpeter treasures continue to exist.

Public order remained undisturbed; generally speaking, the reign of the law was maintained; the authorities fulfilled their duty; and the navy, glorious guardian of half our territory, which is the ocean, was saved intact. Therefore, all we sons of Chile are of cheerful heart.

The virility of a country is worth more than the splendor of its monuments. It does not humiliate us, therefore, to have you see houses and towns destroyed, for it was not a civil war or a foreign enemy which razed them to the ground, but a higher hand. It is rather a source of pride to us to have you witness the integrity and unity of the Chileans.

The fortitude of our race and our good sense will cause us to rise again in a short time to a greater prosperity.

You plainly see that Chile is still entire and that our misfortune was more painful than injurious.

We did not, therefore, think for a moment that you might postpone your visit. On the contrary, we telegraphed to you a few hours after the earthquake: "Our home is demolished; but come, sir, for we are safe, calm, and diligent."

Besides, the plain dignity of your character, which we knew, and the objects of your visit encouraged us to speak to you.

You have come, most excellent sir, to offer your overproduction to our consumers, and to ask a larger place for the Americans in the Chilean heart.

You are going to obtain all that. But, besides

this, Mr. Root, please bear to the sons of the United States, and especially to our brothers in misfortune at San Francisco, California, a sacred homage—the intense gratitude of the society and Government of Chile for the generous aid to our sufferers by which the Americans are proving to us that along with greatness of power they have greatness of heart.

We knew of all this greatness. With a territory covering half a continent and nourished by every kind of riches, with a firm and impulsive character, with broad and far-reaching views along every channel which human activity can pursue, and endowed with a clear instinct of what is possible, the Americans have become useful and wealthy.

They understood two essential things, namely, that government is not merely a pleasant and covetable ideal, but a fundamental necessity, and that the greatest value does not consist in traditions or fortune, but in personal merit. They therefore abolished every unjustified distinction of superiority and organized as a democracy.

The result of the combination of such rare and happy moral and material elements has been the springing up of a nation as powerful as the most powerful, and in freedom equaled by none.

And how well the United States know that there is no greatness without liberty!

Since the consciousness of right has become deeper, principles of respect and faith have become implanted in the commonwealth of nations, whatever be the extent of their territory, their population,

or their armed forces. The inveterate abuses of force are disappearing. The principle which, being embodied into a law of equality among all the nations, always prevails at present in international relations is that of liberty for the weaker side.

The American Union—the free country—years ago established its foreign policy on the plan of equality. Its commercial flag waves throughout the world without arrogance or spirit of intervention.

Your natural wisdom tells you, Mr. Root, that you do not need any other than mercantile expansion, and still more that none other would be suited to you.

You have of late repeatedly given practical and unmistakable testimonials that this is your policy.

You have stated so yourself at Rio de Janeiro, and your presence among us is a further proof that your purposes are friendly and frank.

Let us enter commercial relations with the United States with friendship and confidence. We shall proceed as far as is mutually beneficial to us, and this will be shown us by the natural laws of mercantile transactions.

The Government desires that American goods shall come to Chile in abundance to facilitate living, and it earnestly desires at the same time that Chilean products may be multiplied and that they may endeavor to offset those importations.

Since the 16th of August we have been pushing more resolutely than before the work of our restoration. We have all the moral factors, namely,

order, will, and an apt and energetic people. We also have incalculable and extremely varied natural resources. There is only one material factor on which we may be short, namely, capital, which is a powerful force if well employed.

Chile will be glad to see American capital come and establish itself in our commercial and industrial circulation. It will blend well with Chilean honor and will prosper under the protection of our laws, which are liberal with the foreigner, and under the shelter of our Government, which is unshakable.

We are certain that Chilean interests will meet the same repect from the Government of the Union as we cherish for American interests.

The infinite variety of articles of supply and consumption will certainly enable the interchange of goods between Chile and America to increase without narrowing the horizons of our commerce with friendly markets which to-day bring us capital, raw materials, workmen, and manufactures.

The American Union has happily solved its internal and foreign problems, has established its political and economic power on a firm basis, and is, finally, in full enjoyment of its natural greatness and freely exercising all its energies at the present time. We have attentively observed that it desires to promote the progress of the world and to see the other nations of Christendom, especially the American Republics, associated in this great work on terms of equality, friendship, and mutual benefit.

We respond, therefore, to its affectionate call by declaring that we are imbued with sincere faith in the friendship of the Government and the people of the United States; we utter fervent wishes that our mutual confidence may become strengthened and be free of misgivings; and we prophesy that the *rapprochement* which the eminent Secretary of State now visiting us has initiated will be of beneficent influence on our international cordiality and bring prosperous results for our development.

Most excellent Mr. Root, His Excellency the President of the Republic requests you to say to the illustrious President Roosevelt and to your fellow-citizens that the Chilean people fraternize cordially with the American people; that our markets are free to them; that we admire your Government officials; that your most excellent minister, Mr. Hicks, enjoys our highest esteem and good feeling; and that we have received you and your most worthy family with open hearts.

Reply of Mr. Root.

MR. PRESIDENT; LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I beg you to believe in the sincere and high appreciation which I have for all the kindness you have shown me and my family since our arrival in Chile. I believe that the delicacy, the sense of propriety and fitness, that have characterized our reception, both official and personal, have produced in our minds, under the sad circumstances of the great misfortune that hangs over the Chilean people like a cloud, a deeper impression than the most splendid and sumptuous display. I believe that to be able to mourn with you in your loss, to sympathize with you in your misfortune, draws us closer to you than to be with you in the greatest prosperity and happiness upon which the brightest sun has ever shone.

I thank you for your kindly expressions regarding my President, regarding myself, and regarding my country. In the "United States of America," as our Constitution called us many years ago—the "United States of North America," as perhaps we should call ourselves south of the Equator—we have been for a long time, and are now, trying to reconcile individual liberty with public order, local self-government with a strong central and national

control; trying to develop the capacity of the individuals of our people to control themselves and also the capacity of the people collectively for self-government; trying to adopt sound financial methods, to promote justice—a justice compatible with mercy—and to make progress in all that makes a people happier, more prosperous, better educated, better able to perform their duties as citizens and to do their part in the world to help humanity out of the hard conditions of poverty and ignorance and along the pathway of civilization. We have done what we could. We have committed errors and we acknowledge them and are deeply conscious of them; but we are justly proud of our country for the progress it has made, and we look on every country that is engaged in that same struggle for liberty and justice with profound sympathy and warm friendship.

I am here to say to the Chilean people that although there have been misunderstandings in the past, they were misunderstandings such as arise between two vigorous, proud peoples that know each other too little. Let us know each other better and we shall have put an end to misunderstandings. The present moment is especially propitious for saying this, because we are upon the threshold of great events in this Western World of ours. In my own country the progress of development has reached a point of transition. In the fifty years from 1850 to 1900 we received on our shores nearly

twenty million immigrants from the Old World. We borrowed from the Old World thousands of millions of dollars, and with the strong arm of the immigrants and with the capital from the Old World we have threaded the country with railroads, we have constructed great public works, we have created the phenomenal prosperity that you all know; and now we have paid our debts to Europe, we have returned the capital with which our country was built up, and in the last half dozen years we have been accumulating an excess of capital that is beginning to seek an outlet in foreign enterprises.

At the same time, there is seen in South America the dawn of a new life which moves its people, as they have never been moved before, with the spirit of industrial and commercial progress.

At a banquet that was given last winter to a great and distinguished man, Lord Grey, Governor-General of Canada, he said: "The nineteenth century was the century of the United States; the twentieth century will be the century of Canada." I should feel surer as a prophet if I were to say: "The twentieth century will be the century of South America." I believe, with him, in the great development of Canada; but just as the nineteenth century was the century of phenomenal development in North America, I believe that no student can help seeing that the twentieth century will be the century of phenomenal development in South America.

And so our countries will be face to face in a

new attitude. We can not longer remain strangers to each other; our relations must be those of intimacy, and this is the time to say that our relations will be those of friendship.

On the other hand, before long the construction of the canal across the Isthmus of Panama, which will fulfill the dreams of the early navigators, which will accomplish the work projected for centuries, will at last be completed, while the men who are to-day active in the business of both countries are still on the field of action.

This, therefore, is the moment to safeguard harmony in the relations between the two nations.

I do not believe that anyone can say what changes the opening of the Panama Canal will bring in the affairs of the world, but we do know that the great changes in the commercial routes of the world have changed the course of history, and no one can doubt that the creation of a waterway that will put the Pacific coast of South America in close touch with the Atlantic coast of North America must be a factor of incalculable importance in determining the affairs of the Western Hemisphere and promoting our relations of intimacy and friendship.

Now, at this moment, at the beginning of this great commercial and industrial awakening—I say at the beginning, notwithstanding all that you have already done, because I believe you have only begun to realize the great work you have before you—at this moment there falls on you this terrible misfortune, one of those warnings that at times God sends

to his people to show them how weak they are in his hands—a misfortune on account of which the entire world mourns with you. But I believe—I know—that the air of these mountains and of these shores, which in another time gave its spirit to the proud and indomitable Arucanian race, has given to the people of Chile the vigor with which to rise up from the ashes of Valparaiso and with which to make out of the misfortune of to-day the incentive for great deeds to-morrow. And in this era of friendship, when peaceful immigration has replaced armed invasions, when the free exchange of capital and the international ownership of industrial and commercial enterprises, of manufactures, of mines, have replaced rapine and plunder—in this era of commercial conquest and industrial acquisition, of more frequent intercourse among men, of more intimate knowledge and better understanding, there has come to you in this your great misfortune the friendship and the sympathy of the world.

In truth, our friends who sleep the last sleep there in Valparaiso have brought to their country a possession of greater value than was ever won by the soldier on the battle field.

As I said to you yesterday, Mr. President, I feared that under the present sad circumstances I might be intruding upon you; should I not rather feel that the words of friendship of which I am the bearer are in perfect harmony with the sentiment that your affliction has created in all countries: the universal recognition of the brotherhood of man.

VI.

Speeches in Peru.

Speech of Doctor Federico Elguera, Mayor of Lima, welcoming Mr. Root, at the Municipal Council, September 10, 1906.

[Translation from the Spanish.]

MR. ROOT:

The citizens of Lima welcome you and feel glad to have you amongst them.

You arrive at the capital of Peru after having visited the leading cities in South America and after having therein received the greetings so justly due the great American nation and your own personal merits.

You are an ambassador of peace, a messenger of good will, and the herald of doctrines which sustain America's autonomy and strengthen the faith in our future welfare.

The wake left by the vessel which has brought you hither serves as a symbol, indicating union, fraternity, and friendship between the northern and southern states of this continent.

You have been able to judge and form a general opinion as to the present state of the political, economical, and social development of Latin America. You also know now what her resources are and to what conditions the growth and progress are due on this southern continent.

After visiting prosperous countries, whose peaceful labor on behalf of civilization has not been disturbed by the sorrows of war, you reach a land where once flourished the greatest empire which ever arose in America.

You have arrived at the ancient metropolis of Spanish America; you are now at the heart of a nation which attracted in former days the world's attention on account of its greatness and the treasures it possessed—a nation which fought the final battles for independence, and, more important than all, a country which, having been shaken and convulsed by dissension, has risen once more to a life of well-being through a supreme effort of will and a firm belief in its future.

The Peru which you are visiting is not only the country of olden times, which tradition has made known to you for its fabulous wealth, but it is a modern country, versed in the principles of order, industry, and labor.

Nations which live exclusively on the wealth given to them by nature make no effort to become greater, nor do they consider their future welfare, but perish, crushed by those whose envy and greed they excite.

On the other hand, those who have their prosperity based on the principles of justice, trade, and peace attain success and incite others to follow, contributing thus to the great work of universal civilization.

Unfortunately, this peace, based on those principles, must be sustained abroad, following the example of the Old World, by the acquisition of elements of warfare only useful for the destruction and ruin of men and progress, wasting the national vitality and prosperity, earned by dint of the labor of the citizens and the products of the resources that nature has given us.

To change this system for another which would insure for our nations the tranquil possession of what lawfully belongs to them, allowing them to devote their efforts fearlessly to their own advancement, is the noble work to which the endeavors of the great nation which has risen up in the New World should be directed, just as the sun rises in the celestial dome to give light, heat, and life; to maintain the equilibrium and prevent the collision of lesser stars.

Such ideals of civilization and fraternity have always guided the conduct of Peru, whose influence and predominance in other times enabled her to watch over justice, to render assistance to the weak, to fight against oppression, and to defend the rights of America.

For this reason we heartily sympathize with the doctrines you proclaim; for this reason we extend to you, with sincere regard, the hand of friendship; for this reason we feel satisfaction and pride when we behold the marvelous progress of your country.

When nations succeed in reaching the degree of prosperity at which yours has arrived they do

not excite envy, but emulation; they do not inspire fear, but confidence.

Ere long the vigorous arm of your people will tear away the strip of land which still keeps us apart, and on the union of two oceans of our hemisphere may we hope that the spirits of Washington and Bolívar will watch the maintenance of peace and justice and follow the destinies of the Republics which they created.

Mr. Root, may the days that you are about to spend amongst us be happy and agreeable, and may their memory ever accompany you, as ours will ever retain the grateful impression of your visit.

Reply of Mr. Root.

HONORABLE MAYOR:

I beg you to believe that I appreciate most highly your kind welcome and the friendly terms with which you have greeted me. I do not feel as though I were coming among strangers when I enter Peru; I do not feel that I am treading on unknown soil when I set foot upon the streets of your famous and historic city. I think no city in the world—certainly no city in the Western Hemisphere—is better known in the United States of America than the city of Lima. Almost every schoolboy in the United States has read in the description of our own historian the story of the founding of this city. We all know the wonderful and romantic history of your four centuries of life; we all know the charms, the graces, and the lovable qualities of your people.

We know that you are the metropolis of a people who carried the art of agriculture to the highest degree of efficiency—a people frugal, industrious, and of domestic virtue. We have seen with gratification that you are becoming also the metropolis of a people capable of winning from your mountains the inexhaustible wealth which they contain—the

metropolis of a great mining people—and within the past few years we have been rejoiced to see that you are also on the road to become the metropolis of a great manufacturing people.

We have read, too, the story of your struggles—first for independence, then for liberty, then for justice and order and peace; and with the memory of our own struggles for liberty and justice, with the experience of our own trials and difficulties, rejoicing in our own success and prosperity, Mr. Mayor, the feeling of sympathy and rejoicing in your success in overcoming the obstacles that have stood in your way, in your growth in capacity for self-government, in the continuing strength of all the principles of justice and of order and of peace, is universal in my country and among my people.

So I come to you not to make friends, but as a friend among friends. I thank you with all my heart, both for myself and for my people, for the kindness of your welcome and for what I know to be the sincerity of your friendship.

Speech of His Excellency Doctor José Pardo y Barreda, President of the Republic of Peru, at a banquet given by him to Mr. Root at the Government Palace in Lima, on September 10, 1906.

[Translation from the Spanish.]

YOUR EXCELLENCY MR. ROOT:

With the most sincere good will, I cordially welcome you in the name of my country and of its Government, and I believe I faithfully interpret the sentiments that rule in Peru in telling you of its sincere good will towards the United States, their illustrious President, and towards your own distinguished person. These feelings which unite the two countries began in the dawn of independence, because the founders of the great Republic showed our forefathers the way to become free; and they strengthened us from the first days of our independent life by the safeguard which the admirable foresight of another great statesman of your country placed around American soil.

Since then the closest friendship unites the two nations. Peru has received from the United States proofs of a very special deference, and has appreciated the efforts made by your Government to establish political relations between the American

peoples upon the basis of right. In this most noble aspiration, worthy of the greatness of your country, Peru, on her part, unreservedly acquiesces.

The lofty ideas which you have expressed since your arrival in South America, the frank expressions of cordiality, the concepts of stimulus and aid to induce us, the Americans of the South, to work in the same way as those of the North, with earnestness and unflinching hope in the future, have in every breast the most pleasing echo, and they direct towards your person the most lively sympathy.

Closely associated fellow-worker with the illustrious statesman who rules the destinies of your country, to you belongs, in a great measure, the acclamation with which America and the entire world greet the great nation which has constituted the most perfect democratic society, which made the most surprising progress in industrial and economic order, and which placed the prestige of its greatness in the service of peace all over the world.

Gentlemen, I invite you to drink to the United States; to its President, Mr. Roosevelt; and to its Secretary of State, Mr. Root.

Reply of Mr. Root.

MR. PRESIDENT:

I thank you sincerely, both in my own behalf and in behalf of my country, for your kind welcome and for the words, full of friendship and of kindly judgment, you have uttered regarding my country and regarding her servants, the President and myself. The distinguished gentleman who represents Peru in the capital of the United States of America, and who shares with you, sir, the inheritance of a name great and honored, not only in Peru but wherever the friends of constitutional freedom are found—in his note of invitation to me, upon which I am now a visitor to your city, used a form of expression that has dwelt in my memory, because it was so true. He spoke of the old, sincere, and cordial friendship of our two countries—that is indeed true of the friendship of the United States of America and the Republic of Peru. It is an old friendship, a sincere friendship, and a cordial friendship. I have come here not to make new friends, but to greet old ones; not to make a new departure in policy, but to follow old and honored lines; and I should have thought that in coming to South America in answer to the invitations of the different countries,

all down the east and up the west coast, to have passed by Peru would indeed be to have played Hamlet with Hamlet left out. It is still a more natural and still a stronger impulse to visit Peru now as a part of a mission of friendship and good will, when the relations between the two countries are about to become drawn closer together materially. The completing of the canal across the Isthmus of Panama will make us near neighbors as we have never been before, so that we may take our state-rooms at the wharf at Callao or at New York and visit each other without change of quarters during the journey. And no one can tell what the effect of the canal will be. We do know that nothing of the kind was ever done before in human history without producing a most powerful effect upon mankind. The course of civilization, the rise and fall of nations, the development of mankind, have followed the establishment of new trade routes. No one can now tell what the specific effect of the cutting of the canal across the Isthmus may be, but the effect will be great and momentous in the affairs of the world. Of this we may be certain, that for the nations situated immediately to the south and immediately to the north of the canal there will be great change in their relations with the rest of the world; and it is most gratifying to know that this great work which the United States of America is now undertaking—the cost of which she does not ever expect to get back—a work which she is doing not merely for

her own benefit, but because she is moved by the belief that great things are worth doing, is going to bring great benefits to the entire world, and to her old friend and her good friend, the Republic of Peru.

I thank you, Mr. President, for your kind reception, and I beg you to permit me to ask the gentlemen here to join me in proposing in behalf of President Roosevelt the health and long life and prosperity of the President of Peru.

Speech of His Excellency Javier Prado y Ugarteche, Minister for Foreign Affairs, at a banquet given by him at the Union Club, to Mr. Root and his family, in Lima, September 11, 1906.

[Translation from the Spanish.]

HONORABLE MR. ROOT; LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

It is with the liveliest feelings of consideration and sympathy that I have the honor to offer this manifestation to His Excellency Mr. Elihu Root, Secretary of State of the United States of America.

Yielding to the generous impulses of your heart of an American, and of your brain of a thinker and of a statesman, you have felt a desire, Mr. Root, to visit these countries, to address them words of friendship and of interest in their welfare in the name of the honorable Government which you represent, and to shed over this continent the rays of the noble ideal of American confraternity.

Your visit will undoubtedly produce fruitful results on behalf of liberty and of justice, of peace and of progress, of order and of improvement, which you have proclaimed as being the highest principles inspiring the policy of the United States in the special mission for which their peculiar virtues and

energy have marked them out in the destiny of humanity.

When those austere individuals of the American independence laid the foundations of the great Republic of the North, and gave it its Constitution, they were not inspired by narrow-minded ideas or by selfish and transitory interest, but by a profound conviction of the rights of man and a deep feeling of liberty and of justice, which, in its irresistible consequences, would bring about the social and political transformation which came to pass in the world at the end of the eighteenth century and was destined to constitute the gospel of liberty and of democracy in our modern régime.

This same people, although still in its youth, did not hesitate, shortly after, all alone, to guarantee the independence of all the American countries, placing before the great powers of the world the pillars of Hercules of the Monroe Doctrine, forming an impassable gateway to a free and unconquerable America.

To-day this same people excites the admiration of the whole world by its grandeur. Its Government brings to its level the harmony of humanity; reestablishes, on the one hand, peace between the empires of Europe and of Asia, and, on the other, between the Republics of Central America; patronizes the Congress of The Hague, and in it obtains the recognition of the personality of the American nations, and further delays its approaching reunion

in order that the Pan-American Congress in Rio de Janeiro may previously hold its sessions; thus giving proof of the interest it takes, with equal concern, in the future of the peoples civilized for a century and also in that of the countries just commencing their existence. The American Constitution, the Monroe Doctrine, together with the policy of President Roosevelt and of his Secretary of State, Mr. Root, give utterance in this manner, through the pages of history, to the same language of liberty, of justice, humanity, and Americanism.

How deep is the lesson to be learned from these facts!

The ancient ideas founded right upon force, the régime of the social bodies was that of privilege, and the individual efforts were tied down by bonds imposed in name of the authorities. The modern ideas, such as the United States proclaim, found all right upon justice, and the social régime upon liberty and equality. The human being is not an instrument for the display of arbitrary power, but is the whole object of social life, the mission of which is the development of its energies, its moral conscience, the improvement and welfare of individuals and of nations.

According to the ancient ideas, the greatness of the nations was measured by their military power and by the limits of their conquests of force. According to modern ideas, as represented by the United States, the greatness of nations is measured

by the conquests obtained by individual and collective efforts, thereby creating the fruitful and happy reign of truth, of justice, of labor, and of peace.

War was formerly a glory; nowadays it is a calamity. Later on it will be condemned as the sad ancestral remains of barbarism and savagery.

The evolution of ideas is that which now rules the world, and if people do not always comprehend this fact it is because the selfish and personal prejudices, passions, and interests disturb and impair their judgment.

In modern progress, the régime of privilege and of force can no longer create rights or lend security for the future or the aggrandizement of nations; and nowadays those individuals do not render a service to their native land who, while they sacrifice permanent interests, think they can calculate the meridian of their country by the artificial reflections of a moment, transitory and perishable.

The régime of force or of armed peace consumes the vital forces and the resources of nations; and then from the abyss of inequality, of affliction, and danger produced, bursts forth once more the social and political problem demanding, with threats, the reform of the evil, and laying down the maxim that only an ideal and régime of justice, of liberty, and of human solidarity can possibly stand forth, firm and unshaken, amidst the ruins in which the wild ideas of greatness held by the military powers of the world must remain buried forever.

It is not by means of a régime of imposition and of force, but by that of liberty, peace, and labor, that the United States of America has been enabled to form a marvelous abode of vitality and human progress; and its Government, with a perfect insight into the greatness of that country and of its destiny, to-day addresses the present and the future of our world, and with special interest explains to America what are the only paths that will lead the nations following them to the attainment of tranquillity and well-being.

Once that existence is obtained, you have said, Mr. Root, that it is necessary to live and advance worthily and honorably, and that this object can not be attained by a régime of domestic oppression and of privilege, nor by the external one of isolation or of war, but by that of liberty, order, justice, economical progress, moral improvement, intellectual advance, respect for the rights of others, and a feeling of human solidarity. You have clearly stated:

> No nation can live unto itself alone and continue to live. Each nation's growth is a part of the development of the race. * * * A people whose minds are not open to the lessons of the world's progress, whose spirits are not stirred by the aspirations and achievements of humanity struggling the world over for liberty and justice, must be left behind by civilization in its steady and beneficent advance.

In the life of nations there must always prevail an ideal and a harmony of right, of liberty, of peace,

and fraternity, although this can only be obtained by persevering efforts and by sacrifices, and a long and distressing march. It is necessary to "labor more for the future than for the present," and unite together all the nations engaged in the same great task, inspired by a like ideal, and professing similar principles.

In accordance with these highly elevated ideas you have given utterance to a profession of faith setting forth the policy of the United States in the following memorable declarations:

We wish for no victories but those of peace; for no territory except our own; for no sovereignty except the sovereignty over ourselves. We deem the independence and equal right of the smallest and weakest member of the family of nations entitled to as much respect as those of the greatest empire, and we deem the observance of that respect the chief guaranty of the weak against the oppression of the strong. We neither claim nor desire any rights, or privileges, or powers that we do not freely concede to every American Republic. We wish to increase our prosperity, to expand our trade, to grow in wealth, in wisdom, and in spirit; but our conception of the true way to accomplish this is not to pull down others and profit by their ruin, but to help all friends to a common prosperity and a common growth, that we may all become greater and stronger together.

Within a few months, for the first time the recognized possessors of every foot of soil upon the American continents can be, and I hope will be, represented with the acknowledged rights of equal sovereign states in the great World Congress at The Hague. This will be the world's formal and final acceptance of the declaration that no

part of the American continents is to be deemed subject to colonization. Let us pledge ourselves to aid each other in the full performance of the duty to humanity which that accepted declaration implies, so that in time the weakest and most unfortunate of our Republics may come to march with equal step by the side of the stronger and more fortunate. Let us help each other to show that for all the races of men the liberty for which we have fought and labored is the twin sister of justice and peace. Let us unite in creating and maintaining and making effective an all-American public opinion whose power shall influence international conduct and prevent international wrong, and narrow the causes of war, and forever preserve our free lands from the burden of such armaments as are massed behind the frontiers of Europe, and bring us ever nearer to the perfection of ordered liberty. So shall come security and prosperity, production and trade, wealth, learning, the arts, and happiness for us all.

Peru has read your words, Mr. Root, with profound attention. She is proud to say that in the modest sphere she occupies in the concert of nations she accepts your phrases and ideas as her own, and declares that they also constitute her profession of faith as regards her international policy.

With your superior judgment you have exactly comprehended the difficulties, critical moments, and convulsions which the countries of this continent have had to undergo in order to establish a republican government, together with a régime of liberty and democracy. They are still in the first period of their development and have yet many problems to solve.

To develop the immense resources and wealth with which nature has so wonderfully endowed these countries; to render their territory accessible to labor and civilization by opening up means of communication, granting all kinds of facilities and giving security for the life, health, and welfare of their inhabitants; to obtain the population which their immense territories require; to educate and instruct the people, making them understand their personality, their liberty, their duties, and their rights; to develop their faculties and energies, their labor forces, their industrial and commercial capacity and power; to elevate their moral dignity; to consolidate and strengthen the national unity; to insure definitely the government of the people, in justice, in order, and in peace; to attract capital and foreign immigration; to develop and give impulse to the commercial relations with other countries; to maintain a frank and true international harmony and solidarity; to respect all mutual and reciprocal rights, and settle all disagreements by friendly, just, and honorable means—to perform, in short, a work of human civilization; these are undoubtedly the points which ought to occupy, first of all, the thoughts of the administration of these countries, in order to secure their tranquillity, their welfare, and their aggrandizement, just as the United States have done, owing to the genius of their race and the power of their ideals.

If the nations of America, instead of living apart from each other and separated by mistrust, threats,

and quarrels—which unsettle them, rendering their energy and development fruitless, just as they have kept up a state of anarchy, for a long time, in their internal existence—would unite themselves together by the natural ties which the community of their origin, of their civilization, of their necessities, and their destinies clearly indicate, we should then witness the realization of the idea which you have conceived of a great, prosperous, and happy America; the union of sister Republics, free, orderly, laborious, lovers of justice, knowledge, sciences, and arts, cooperating, each one and all of them, worthily and effectively, to the realization of the great work of human civilization and culture.

The standard and observance of justice should bring about the definite disappearance of the disagreements which may have caused separation among the South American countries, just in the same way as family quarrels are effaced on the exhibition of a just and generous sentiment of sincere brotherhood and harmony which vibrates throughout this continent as an intense aspiration of the American soul and as a noble ideal of concord and of justice.

It is never too late to recognize what is right and to proceed with rectitude. My memory suggests an important event which occurred some few years back in the history of the relations between Peru and the United States, described most correctly by the representative of your Government as one of those most worthy of note in the annals of diplomacy. I refer to the serious question which arose

in 1852 between our respective countries relative to the Lobos guano islands when the United States held that they did not belong to the territory and sovereignty of Peru, and that as they had been occupied by American citizens your country would uphold these parties in the work of exploitation; but as soon as the Government of the United States, after a lengthened and lively controversy, became convinced of the right which Peru had on her side, it at once spontaneously put an end to the question by a memorable note of its Secretary of State, recognizing the absolute sovereignty of Peru over those islands and declaring that "he makes this avowal with the greater readiness, in consequence of the unintentional injustice done to Peru, under a transient want of information as to the facts of the case."*

When powerful nations, laying to one side the instruments of oppression and violence which they have in their hands, rise to such a height of moral elevation, universal respect and sympathy then form the unfading halo of their grandeur.

And thus it happened with the United States of America; and Peru has now the honor once more to express its consideration and thanks for the generous friendship and constant interest with which the United States have always paid attention to everything affecting the welfare and progress of our country.

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*Mr. Everett to Señor Osma, November 16, 1852.

Peru, which is the depository of the secrets of wondrous and unknown civilizations, which possesses great historical traditions, which was long ago the metropolis of this continent, and then a Spanish colony; which has an enormous extent of territory, with the most varied and wonderful climates and wealth; after grievous domestic and foreign vicissitudes, has firmly taken in hand the great work of its reorganization; has acquired the knowledge of its public and private duties; has given vigor to its character and to its spirit of enterprise; has founded industries and labor centers; foments its agriculture, mining, and commerce; is using every effort to foster public instruction, increasing the number of schools throughout the country and giving civic education to its children; constructing railroads and public works of national and future interest; opening the minds and intelligence of its people to the currents of culture and modern progress, and endeavoring to establish a solid and well-directed public administration; her fiscal revenues, her trade, and the general capitalization of fortunes have reached in a few years an extraordinary development which demonstrates the potentiality of the country; enjoying public peace, she is using every effort to maintain a policy of frank understanding and friendship with all nations; and sustains the principle of arbitration for the solution of all her international controversies, thus giving evident proof of the rectitude of her sentiments, and that the only settlements which

she defends and to which she aspires are the honorable settlements dictated by right.

These ideas are likewise yours, Mr. Root. And I invite you, gentlemen, to unite with us in expressing the hope that the principles proclaimed by our enlightened guest, to whom we to-day offer the deep homage of our respect and sympathy, may everlastingly rule in America.

Reply of Mr. Root.

MR. MINISTER; LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I should be insensible, indeed, were I not to feel deeply grateful for your courtesy, your hospitality, and your kindness; nor can I fail to be gratified by the words of praise which you, Mr. Minister, have spoken of my beloved country, and by that hearty and unreserved approval with which you have met my inadequate expression of the sentiments that the people of my country feel towards their sister Republics of South America. The words which you have quoted, sir, do represent the feelings of the people of the United States. We are very far from living up to the standards which we set for ourselves, and we know our own omissions, our failings, and our errors; we know them, we deplore them, and we are constantly and laboriously seeking to remedy them; but we do have underneath as the firm foundation of constitutional freedom the sentiments which were expressed in the quotations which you have made.

No government in the United States could maintain itself for a moment if it violated those principles; no act of unjust aggression by the United States against any smaller and weaker power would

be forgiven by the people to whom the Government is responsible.

Mr. Minister, my journey in South America is drawing to a close. After many weeks of association with the distinguished men who control the affairs of the South American Republics, after much observation of the widely different countries which I have visited, it is with the greatest satisfaction that I find, in reviewing the new records of my mind, that the impressions with which I came to South America have been confirmed—the impression that there is a new day dawning, a new day of industry, of enterprise, of prosperity, of wider liberty, and more perfect justice among the people of the Southern Continent.

I find that the difference between the South America of to-day and the South America as the records show it to have been a generation ago is as wide as the difference marked by centuries in the history of Europe. Why is it? You are the same people—not so much better than your fathers. The same fields offered to the hand of the husbandman their bounteous harvests then as now; the same incalculable wealth slept in your mountains then as now; the same streams carried down from your mountain sides the immeasurable power ready to the hand of man for the production of wealth then as now; the same ocean washed your shores ready to bear the commerce of the world then as now. Whence comes the change? The change is not

in material things, but in spiritual things. The change has come because in the slow but majestic progress of national development the peoples of South America have been passing through a period of progress necessary to their development, necessary to the building of their characters, up from a stage of strife and discord, of individual selfishness, of unrestrained ambition, of irresponsible power; and out upon the broad platform of love for country, of national spirit, of devotion to the ideal of justice, of ordered liberty, of respect for the rights of others; because the individual characters of the peoples of the South American Republics have been developed to that self-control, to that respect for justice towards their fellow-men, to that regard for the rights and feelings of others which inhere in true justice. The development of individual character has made the collective character competent for self-government and the maintenance of that justice, that ordered liberty, which gives security to property, security to the fruits of enterprise, security to personal liberty, to the pursuit of happiness, to the home, to all that makes life worth living; and under the fostering care of that character, individual and national, the hidden wealth of the mountains is being poured out to enrich mankind; under the fostering care of that character, individual and national, new life is coming to the fields, to the mines, to the factories, to commerce, to all material interests of South America.

Mr. Minister, this is but a part of the great world movement on a wider field. It is no idle dream that the world grows better day by day. We can not mark its progress by days or by years or by generations, but marking the changes by the centuries mankind advances steadily from brute force, from the rule of selfishness and greed towards respect for human rights, towards desire for human happiness, towards the rule of law and the rule of love among men. My own country has become great materially because it has felt the influence of that majestic progress of civilization. South America is becoming great materially because it, too, is feeling the influence that is making humanity more human.

We can do but little in our day. We live our short lives and pass away and are forgotten. All the wealth, prosperity, and luxury with which we can surround ourselves is of but little benefit and little satisfaction; but if we—if you and I—in our offices and each one of us in his influence upon the public affairs of his day can contribute ever so little, but something, toward the tendency of our countries, the tendency of our race, away from greed and force and selfishness and wrong, towards the rule of order and love—if we can do something to contribute to that tendency which countless millions are working out, we shall not have lived in vain.

You were kind enough to refer to an incident in the diplomatic history of the United States and

Peru when my own country recognized its error in regard to the Lobos Islands and returned them freely and cheerfully to their rightful owner. I would rather have the record of such acts of justice for my country's fair name than the story of any battle fought and won by her military heroes.

We can not fail to ask ourselves sometimes the question, What will be the end of our civilization? Will some future generation say of us, as did the Persian poet, "The lion and the lizard keep the courts where Jamshyd gloried and drank deep"? Will the palaces that we build be the problem of the antiquarians in some future century? Will all that we do come to naught? If not—if our civilization is not to meet the fate of all that have gone before—it will be because we have builded upon a firm foundation, a foundation of the great body of the plain, the common people, and of a character formed upon the principles of justice, of liberty, and of brotherly love. Our one hope for the perpetuity of our civilization is that quality in which it differs from all civilizations that have gone before—its substantial basis. I find that here in Peru you are building upon that firm rock.

I find that here individual character is being developed so that the people of Peru are collectively developing the necessary and essential national character.

I find that the riches of your wonderful land are in the hands of a people who are worthy to enjoy them.

I shall take away with me from Peru not only the kindest feelings of friendship and of gratitude, but the highest and most confident hope of a great and glorious future for the people to whom I wish so well.

Mr. Minister, will you permit me the honor of asking all to join me in drinking to the health of His Excellency the President of Peru?

Speech of Senator Barrios at an Extraordinary Session of the Peruvian Senate held at Lima September 13, 1906.

[Translation from the Spanish.]

MR. ROOT:

The Senate of Peru, honored by your official visit, greets you as the representative of a great democratic people, whose juridical methods, founded on liberty and equality, are a model for all American parliaments.

I consider your visit to our young Republic as one of most important and lasting effect in the history of the continent. When these peoples have reached the power and development which the United States of America enjoys; when the citizens and the public authorities keep within the bounds imposed by the legitimate demands of liberty and justice and the requirements of order and progress; when all this is obtained by means of social well-being, of economic strength, and the political predominance which passes beyond the native land—then the legitimate and noble influence exercised on the life of other peoples is based, not on the narrow schemes of national egotism, but on the broad and humane qualities of civilization.

This your Government has understood in sending a full representation to these Republics, in harmony with the American idea of union and progress, which the illustrious statesman who to-day presides over the glorious destinies of the American people—to the admiration and respect of all—expounds and accomplishes by his thoughtful work.

In the dawn of the twentieth century may be seen in this part of the world a collection of peoples who, with analogous institutions, must fulfill in history a single and great destiny. This part which the future reserves for us can not be other than an effective and true realization of democracy at home and of justice in international affairs.

Such is the direction in which Peru is aiming her energies, after her past and now remote vicissitudes. Such is the ideal that animates her in pursuing her efforts for reconstruction, because a people without an aim in the struggle are unworthy of victory. "It is no more than a scratch on the ground," using the words of your illustrious President.

As the principal co-worker for the exalted international policy of the present Government of the United States, receive, Mr. Root, the assurances of the highest consideration and sympathy of the Peruvian Senate.

Reply of Mr. Root.

MR. PRESIDENT, AND SENATORS:

I feel most keenly the great honor conferred upon me by this distinguished legislative body. I thank you for your courtesy personally; still more I thank you for the exhibition of friendship and sympathy with my country—an exhibition which corresponds most perfectly to the spirit and purpose actuating my visit to Peru. I do not think, sir, that anyone long concerned in government can fail to come at last to a feeling of deep solicitude for the welfare of the people whom he serves. He must come to feel toward them somewhat as the lawyer does toward his clients, as the physician feels toward his patients, as the clergyman feels toward his parishioners—the advocate, the friend of the people whose interests are committed to his official action; and, as a member of the Government of a friendly Republic, I feel toward you that sympathy which comes from a common purpose, from engagement in the same task, from being actuated by the same motive. The work of the legislator is difficult and delicate. Governments can not make

wealth; governments can not produce enterprise, industry, or prosperity; but wise government can give that security for property, for the fruits of enterprise, for personal liberty, for justice, which opens the door to enterprise, which stimulates industry and commercial activity, which brings capital and immigration to the shores of the country that is but scantily populated, and which makes it worth while for the greatest exertions of the human mind to be applied to the development of the resources of the country. How difficult is the task! As the engineer controlling a great and complicated machine does not himself furnish the motive power or do the work, yet by a wrong turn of the lever can send the machine to ruin; so the legislative body can not itself do the work that the people must do, yet by ill-advised, inconsiderate, and unwise legislation it may produce incalculable misery and ruin. The wisdom that is necessary, the unselfishness that is necessary, the subordination of personal and selfish interests that is necessary, has always seemed to me to consecrate a legislative body doing its duty by its country and make it worthy not only of respect but of reverence.

Mr. President and Senators, in your deliberations and your actions, so fraught with results of happiness or disaster for the people of your beloved country, we of the North, the people of a Republic long bound to Peru by ties of real and sincere

friendship, follow you with sympathy; with earnest, sincere desire that you may be guided by wisdom; that you may work in simplicity and sincerity of heart for the good of your people; and that your labors may be crowned by those blessings which God gives to those who serve His children faithfully and well.

VII.

Speeches upon the installation of Mr. Root as a member of the Faculty of Political and Administrative Sciences of the University of San Marcos, Lima, September 14, 1906.

Speech of Doctor Luis F. Villarán, Rector of the University.

[Translation from the Spanish.]

MR. ROOT:

The University of San Marcos of Lima heartily shares in the national rejoicing consequent on your visit to us, and greets you as the representative of the great Republic which holds so many claims to the high esteem and consideration of the Spanish-American States of this continent.

Your country, indeed, furnished valuable co-operation to the Spanish colonies in the establishment of their independence. With the example of your own emancipation, forming one of the greatest events of history, the longing for liberty deepened in their breasts. It gave them courage in the struggle by frank declarations of friendship and sympathy; bestowed prestige on their cause by recognizing them as free States at a time when their emancipation was not entirely accomplished; and, finally, added strength to their victory by declaring before the whole world that the independence and integrity of these Republics would be maintained at all costs.

You, the Americans of the North, were the

founders and defenders of the international and political liberty of these States. Washington, whose greatness has alone been given worthy expression in the inspired words of Byron—Washington, "the first, the last, the best of men"—and the glorious group of illustrious citizens who accompanied him in his work, were the apostles of democracy and the republic. The American Constitution is an admirable structure, built on the immovable foundations of justice and the national will, which will never be overthrown by social or political upheavals.

Half a century ago, Laboulaye, the illustrious professor of the College of France, said:

> Washington has founded a wise and well-organized Republic and has bequeathed to history, not the fatal spectacle of crime triumphant, but a beneficent example of patriotism and virtue. In less than fifty years, thanks to the powerful influence of liberty, an empire has been raised which before the end of the century will be the greatest State of the civilized world and which, if it remain true to the ideals of its founders, if ambition does not check the era of its fortune, will furnish the world the spectacle of a Republic of one hundred million men, richer, happier, and more glorious than the monarchies of the Old World. This is the work of Washington!

This prophesy has been fulfilled; that half century has passed by, and the great Republic goes on in the course of its greatness and no eye can discern the ultimate reach of its magnificence.

To-day, with the kind name of sister, it sends us, through you, its worthy messenger, fresh words of

encouragement and invites us in a gracious manner to exert ourselves to greater efforts in the work of peace, of labor, and of the aggrandizement of the American Continent.

You tell us that—

> Nowhere in the world has this progress been more marked than in Latin America. Out of the wrack of Indian fighting and race conflicts and civil wars, strong and stable governments have arisen. Peaceful succession in accord with the people's will has replaced the forcible seizure of power permitted by the people's indifference. Loyalty to country, its peace, its dignity, its honor, has arisen above partizanship for individual leaders.

You add:

> We wish to increase our prosperity, to expand our trade, to grow in wealth, in wisdom, and in spirit, but our conception of the true way to accomplish this is not to pull down others and profit by their ruin, but to help all friends to a common prosperity and a common growth, that we may all become greater and stronger together.

The University of Lima, an important factor in the national life, accepts on its part, and in harmony with public thought, your noble invitation.

This University, the distinguished creation of the great Spanish monarchs, proud of its noble lineage of five centuries, jealous of its glories, believes it to be its duty and considers it a special honor to offer you, the illustrious messenger, the deep thinker, and the highest co-worker in the Government of Theodore Roosevelt, the peacemaker of the world, a post of honor.

The Faculty of Political and Administrative Sciences, founded thirty years ago by the distinguished President Manuel Pardo, and organized by the eminent public writer Pradier Fodéré—this Faculty, which professes, without limitations, the doctrines of international and political law as proclaimed in your country, is the one which with just right offers you this University emblem, which I am pleased to place in the hands of Your Excellency [addressing the President of Peru, and handing him the medal of the University] that you may kindly deliver it to our illustrious guest.

Speech of Doctor Ramón Ribeyro, Professor of the University and Dean of the Faculty of Political and Administrative Sciences.

[Translation from the Spanish.]

Excellency; Mr. Rector; Gentlemen:

The presence among us of the eminent stateman, the Secretary of State of the United States, is indeed of great significance and surpassing importance in the course of our political life as a singular and unmistakable token of friendship offered by that powerful Republic and as a generous effort to create between the nations of America a stable régime of true understanding and concord.

This work of peace, which is linked with the unvarying respect for the rights of all without regard to their extent of power, with the close union of their interests, and with a political unity of purpose, which springs from the historical origin of the Republics of America and the analogy of their institutions, is outlined in a masterly manner in the address which our illustrious guest recently delivered before the Congress of American Delegates convened at Rio de Janeiro.

The general idea which he has expressed therein of the principles of democratic régime, of its severe trials and accidental mistakes, of the virtues which sustain popular government and of the public education that must prepare and secure it, reveal to us the secret of the prosperity and welfare of the most flourishing and freest Republic that has ever existed, and how it has reached the preponderant rank it now occupies among nations, and its unquestionable influence and prestige, without at the same time ceasing to be essentially pacific.

This is a noble purpose of our powerful sister of the North, who with a persevering and ever steadfast persistency presses on, endeavoring to combine continental interests lacking a sufficient cohesion, and promote their common development, thus to reach "the complete rule of justice and peace among nations in lieu of force and war."

In the severe simplicity of these words of Mr. Root the program of his mission of friendship and advice is condensed, which will stimulate the common aim of creating a stable concert of interests carefully and duly appreciated, on which is to be established the uniform rule of our common existence, the rule of justice, never subservient to private and selfish convenience; a barrier against the arbitrary and brutal decisions of force, nearly always dissembled under plausible forms and motives of international tradition, which has established right upon the consummated fact.

There exists a fundamental sentiment which opposes the cumulus of violence and usurpation, which in a great degree constitutes historic international law and corrects the deductions made from purely speculative theories, a sentiment we accept without demur, and which is asserted like the axioms that serve as the basis and foundation of all reasoning and as a rule inspiring human actions.

This concept is that of a law of coexistence, an intuition of the universal conscience, which all human society upholds on account of the sole fact of its existence.

But the completely empiric and egotistical manner in which nations have understood and applied the right of sovereign independence in their outward dealings has, up to the present time, been the almost insuperable obstacle to the universal establishment of a rule of justice which governs in a permanent and uniform manner the concourse of interests, that have dictated the law instead of being subject to it; each state following one of its own modeling, in accordance with the power it holds and the ambitions it is thereby enabled to pursue.

This tendency, whether explicit or covert, hardly restrained by the formalities of modern civilization, which seldom succeed in masking the painful reality, has created the singular spectacle witnessed at the present time—that is, the undefined aggravation of a military situation which absorbs the greater part of the resources of nations, wrung from the labor and welfare of humanity.

The constant fear of armed aggression in which they live has brought about political alliances of a purely transitory character, which assure nothing and, in truth, mean nothing but the mutual imputation of violence and outrage, unhappily but too well demonstrated as justifiable motives for apprehension by reason of the ominous antecedents of an international régime founded on the supremacy of power.

This precarious guaranty, the fruit of an unsteady and purely political combination which may undergo the most unexpected alterations, can not assure a stable situation, because it is not in itself the constitution of a common, strong, and commanding law; but, on the contrary, is the distrust of the efficacy of the latter and a certain traditional disdain for a humane and peaceful solution of international affairs.

When the anxiety of danger or an unforeseen obstacle does not prevent recourse to arms, war breaks out if the motive is simply the securing of an advantage sustained by a military power which the country chosen as the object of the aggression can not forcibly check.

True it is that nowadays wars are less frequent and more humane in the manner they are waged than heretofore, but their causes are ever the same, and the intervals between them are only due to the larger number of military powers, now than formerly, and to the fear of consequent complications of political interests which it is hazardous to provoke.

Treaties of peace since the seventeenth century, which recorded the birth of the modern law of nations, have on some occasions passed through real transformation in obedience to the law of evolution of human societies, which favor equilibrium, not as established by frail or artificial alliances or by the combinations of the powerful, but by its ethnical factors and the amplitude of the national life based primarily on the progress of its institutions, in the ever-increasing intervention of the people in their own affairs and the reality and solidity of its political and civil liberty.

Each one of these suspensions of the blind and brutal recourse to arms has permitted the creation and duration of the social elements of self-preservation and internal liberty, which have weakened the principle of state and served as a counterpoise to the purely political motives which have almost always been the stimulus of war.

The definite establishment of an international juridical organ sufficiently authorized and efficacious in its action is yet a future event. Law in this respect has not as yet gone beyond the limits of a sphere that is at most one of pure speculation, a worthy ideal, it is true, but one which in actuality has only succeeded in modifying the forms of violence by recording in the customary code of nations a few rules to lessen the brutality of the action, without eliminating the arbitrariness inherent to the sovereignty of arms.

It is not necessary, gentlemen, to call to mind what European conferences and congresses there have been, which, even though they gained most important ends of continental policy and reconciliation, never had a juridical foundation or purpose, or proclaimed, except in a limited and casual way, rules of common law, which if they did not suppress might remove the causes of conflict and solve them by other means than a call to arms.

The generous efforts of worthy men of honored memory that have militated in the parliaments of Europe have had no better result. Cobden and Richard in England, Mancini in Italy, Bredius in Holland, Jonassen in Sweden, Couvreur and Thonissen in Belgium, strove by their eloquence to influence the sovereigns by a vote of the popular parliaments to patronize the principle of arbitration instead of the powers of Europe, but although in the majority of cases such a vote was passed it is easy to explain why it proved practically futile, by reason of the causes we have briefly outlined.

They were all vain efforts; useless attempts to remove the heavy load formed during the passage of centuries by the restless warrior who bequeathed to us the worship of might as the height of prestige and glory, linked to feats of arms and perpetuated by the erection of showy monuments stained with blood and erected upon the human remains of a battlefield.

The ancestral skepticism which this continuous and onerous inheritance engraved on the mind of

modern societies and on that of the heads of nations with respect to the principles of reason and the rule of law in the solution of conflicts has only been able to be counteracted by the fullness and security of existence which nurtures the human heart and by the noble affections that sustain and make labor fruitful, which can exist and prosper only under the shadow of the peaceful reign of justice.

In the Old World this transformation is slow and operates in accordance with the measure of progress attained by public liberties and popular government; and it is on this account that we find so far submitted to a lawful solution solely disputes of lesser importance, few and far between, and subjected to limitations and restrictions, which leave the sovereign exercise of force almost intact.

There is no effort more advanced and laudable tending to the consolidation of peace and its effective guaranty than the Conference of The Hague, convoked in order to establish arbitration as the normal measure for preventing conflicts and for a general agreement for disarming. If, on the one hand, the results of that almost universal international assembly were scanty—for the only ones excluded therefrom were the American States of Latin race—on the other hand, its closure had hardly been effected when there broke out in the Far East that violent storm of blood that gave rise to eloquent commentaries.

Under fairer and happier auspices were the new nations of America, with their vast future, founded on the colonial groups.

Amongst them stands out in prominence the Federal Republic of the United States, which even if in its first days was the sure home of liberty and the field of action of a prolific activity, which leads to welfare and fortune, accomplished the perfect embodiment of those benefits which are the inseparable patrimony of man.

Its organization, which is as sound and strong as its political constitution is free from blemish, has bestowed on it a consistent and rapid growth, which assures it the respect and the sympathy accruing from greatness, reached as the result of its own efforts in a peaceful work, in which it perseveres and daily becomes of greater importance in the destinies of the world.

Under the kind influence of its free institutions, the international policy of the United States has been developed in a sphere free from political tributes, of traditions of force, for the rulers of that nation have ever adopted as their guide of action a respectful friendship with all, without dangerous alliances or compromises, and a zealous care to avoid any foreign policy that might perturb a régime and ideals of existence which formed their peculiar character and established the fellowship of the American family.

This thought is to be found in the political testament of Washington, which, if in 1823 it appeared

for the first time in an official message, was not without having previously received approbation and confirmation of two former Presidents of the Union.

There is no necessity to enter into an explanation of the circumstantial origin and character of this policy inaugurated before the whole world by President Monroe upon a memorable occasion which the Spanish-American nations can not and have not the right to forget, because it is true that the proclamation of this law has carried out to its legitimate consequences the idea it contained whenever the occasion for its application has arisen.

"It was invoked," said Secretary Fish, "in 1870 on the occasion of the seeming danger of Cuba from Europe; it was applied when an identical danger threatened Yucatan; it was embodied in the treaty between Great Britian and the United States with respect to Central America; it was successfully exercised at the time when the United States frustrated the attempt to establish European domination in Nicaragua under the pretext of affording protection to the Indians of Mosquitos; and operated with like effect in preventing the establishment in Mexico of a European dynasty."

It was ever so, and was subsequently upheld by Presidents Polk, Adams, Grant, Cleveland, and their co-workers in the Department of State, outlining the fixed, unvarying course of a policy of continental predominance which tended to conciliate

interests analogous in more respects than one, and to strengthen ties of union within the liberty of action and the bounds of mutual respect, whence there was to arise a common law, universal in its essence and meaning, American in its origin and in its immediate effects.

In this way, likewise, it has been applied by the illustrious Roosevelt, the present President of the Union, who, in powerful freedom of speech and thought, has on more than one occasion pointed out the course he has formed, the evolution he has prepared in the moral and material interests of America, the principle of self-preservation and progress, embodied in that doctrine, which is the only one capable of assuring concord and peace on a basis of right by individual effort and indomitable energy to uphold it.

These are ideas, it will be said, for opportune application in some cases and eventual in others, as has indeed already been stated; but if this be not the occasion to discuss it, it is at all events proper to assert that this doctrine, so happily and persistently upheld, has permitted the autonomous consolidation of the young American Republics, the creation of concordant interests, and has paved the way, if not for the transformation of the concept of rights, always fallaciously invoked in every work of iniquity and usurpation, at least the manner in which it may and should be developed, protected from dangers and artifices.

The natural consequence of this system was the periodical, ever more frequent, gathering together of the American Republics in congresses of delegates which, concerting interests, stimulating interchange and by adopting common rules of procedure with regard to identical necessities, should establish a more solid and more permanent alliance than those entered into by a merely political compact.

From their origin the Pan-American Conferences must be distinguished from others previously convened in this respect; and it was on the same account that the one projected by Bolívar failed at the outset of the independence of the Spanish colonies of America.

The Congress of Panama failed because it looked towards a political alliance the opportunity for which had passed, and because of the inconsistency of its elements which hardly represented states, constituted by the disorder and confusion inseparably linked with every sudden and radical transition.

The Congress of Washington alone, with a well-defined program, genuinely shaped its course towards the attainment of the object desired.

That Congress opened under the broad ideas necessary that "the confidence, respect, and friendship of the nations there represented might be permanent." This was no doubt the intention of its promoters, as is seen from the significant ideas expressed by its president, James G. Blaine, in his opening address, when he said that the delegates

to whom he addressed himself could well show the world the spectacle of a conference of seventeen independent American States, convened for the benefit of peace and progress—*a conference that would not tolerate any tendency towards conquest, but one that proposed to develop common sympathies among the nations of America as broad as their continents were vast.*

It thus happened that, with the concurring vote of the North American Delegates, the recommendations of the committee on general welfare were adopted as the basis of a treaty of arbitration that was intended to institute compulsory arbitration, without any further restriction than that referring to individual independence, which, in the judgment of some of the interested parties, might be involved in dispute.

This resolution and its complement (passed at the session of April 18, 1890, at the instigation of the Argentine Delegates), concerning the elimination from American public law of the principle of compulsory cession of territory under the pressure of arms, were never carried into effect. Matters of secondary importance were taken up and acted on intentionally, so that the former might, as the time ran on, be left in their former condition, without attaining their more exalted and grander object—that of establishing a juridical rule that would serve as a secure and permanent foundation for the conciliation and solution of all conflicting interests and pretensions.

The Congress of Mexico resulted no better in this respect, for if thereat a formal agreement was reached among ten of the assisting Republics to resort to compulsory arbitration, and among fourteen to adhere to the Convention of The Hague, the want of general accord does not permit of its being considered as an advance, but only as a transaction that does not establish a uniform rule.

Finally, the Congress that has just closed at Rio de Janeiro, in accordance with its program upon such a vital subject, has confirmed the adherence of the American Republics to the principle of arbitration, expressing the hope that at the next conference at The Hague a general convention of arbitration may be agreed upon, that may be approved and put in force by all countries.

The deflection of the current of opinion that arises from individual and fundamental necessities, and from sources as fully authorized as those which in the Republic of the United States gave rise to the first impulse of the idea of approximation and concord, shows that the same difficulties have been encountered as in the former conferences in reaching a general agreement that will guarantee peace in America and permit her Republics to devote themselves to consolidate their institutions and exploit for the benefit of civilization their rich domains, which are indiscriminately open to the activity, capital, and ingenuity of all mankind.

It is not opportune to state what this insuperable

obstacle may be, but it is proper to recount the fact that arrangements of arbitration have been made by Peru, both before and after the Congress of Mexico, either as an article of a treaty, or concerning concrete questions, with the very Republics which at that Congress did not sign the agreement of compulsory arbitration.

In our country we have always given frank and sincere adherence to this exalted principle, which is in such perfect accord with human dignity and which contributes in such an efficacious manner to preserve and further the conquests of civilization, seeking to banish the miseries and misfortunes of war, since men and nations have to contend with so many others in the rough path of life.

It should be remembered here that for some time back Peru has made sincere and disinterested efforts to establish the close union of the Republics of America, to draw together and harmonize their interests, so that by reciprocal aid they might even guard against dangers that might threaten their autonomy and independence. The reunion in Lima in 1848 and 1864 of two congresses of plenipotentiaries shows this, as well as the attitude of her representatives in those assemblages.

In the latter of these, with a program as broad as that contained in the Peruvian circular of January, 1864, two purposes as advantageous as they were noble were borne in mind—the adoption of uniform rules to settle questions of territorial boundaries, the

principal if not the only cause of discord among our countries, and the abolition of war by recourse to judicial arbitration.

In both congresses the noble purpose that led to their convocation was frustrated beforehand by the small number of nations represented at them, and because of their political tendency towards a federative alliance that must meet with insuperable difficulties.

The present occasion does not permit of specifying the other causes—some subsistent, others antecedent—that must prevent the realization of the idea that was developing in the minds of these peoples, and that made itself apparent from time to time, like a constant hope for a situation of common security, of loyal and mutual confidence by reason of the certainty of arriving in every dispute at an impartial judicial solution. But it is proper to say that even if the Congress of 1864 did not have practical results it nevertheless gave the first and effective impulse to the principle of arbitration as a rule of common law among the peoples of America; it condensed in the various expressions of its program the progressive movement that former vague and ill-defined projects had hinted at, but which in truth may be said to contain a prophecy of the future.

Despair, however, has not overcome us. We have assisted and will assist at these assemblages with the firm and honest conviction that, if they

have not up to the present entirely attained the principal and exalted aim that has led to their periodic convention, they have produced a more frequent and friendly contact which will result in throwing down the barriers raised by unfounded misgivings—hidden prejudices—which are and ought ever to be foreign to the autonomous origin and international policy of these peoples.

When we came to hold a place among nations we severed ourselves from the past. Ill prepared for the arduous task of our political organization and unavoidable and exacting requirements of self-government, we had to undergo great hardships, incessant struggles, and unfortunate reverses. This situation (almost universal among the Spanish-American Republics for more than half a century) produced their temporary isolation and a certain military supremacy occasioned by the war of independence and their internal disturbances. This, in truth, is the only thing that can explain the aggressive inclination and the preference among them for armed strife in heedlessness or disdain for the pacific settlement of their differences.

In fact, nothing should reasonably be able to occasion a bloody encounter between peoples who have not, day by day, to defend their right to exist, who possess a territory vaster and richer than is necessary to fully develop the national life, who were born free from the original task of conquest, from political complications of a historically turbulent and difficult past, and who have not known the

necessities of a continental equilibrium changeable solely at the will of the strong without protection for the weak.

This cycle of disturbances in the interior and mistrusts in the exterior seems to have passed now, and let us hope that it has forever. But it is necessary to say this: In order that this work of peace and harmony may be accomplished and consolidated, it is necessary, above all, to exclude from these gatherings destined to promote it any political motive the subtle and cunning influence whereof, always changeable in its designs, is the constant obstacle to progress and efficient action of law among nations, and, if law be not double-faced, no honest motive, no legitimate interest, can fear to be examined under the light of justice.

Very little or nothing will be accomplished, in fact, with agreements to adjust and settle interests that are always in a state of transformation and eventual conflict, unless, first of all, the unshifting foundation be established, alike for all and a preserver of peace—unless this supreme and dominant interest of a judicial solution be efficaciously safeguarded, which is the only one worthy of mankind and capable of insuring its welfare and progress.

The misery and unrest of armed peace, the deep abyss which ruthlessly swallows up the energies and tender resources of their sparce populations, are in poor keeping with the most vital necessities of our young Republics.

No progressive and stable situation can be conceived for new peoples wherein nearly everything yet remains to be done, if it be not founded upon a rule of law that secures the benefits attained from order and labor; if the subsistence, the meaning, and the good faith of international agreements are to have no other interpreter than violence. We must not be left exposed to the blindness of anger, the injurious councils of ambition stimulated by military preparation, which destroys in an hour the fruits of long years of labor and sacrifice, of loyalty, and of the unvarying respect for the rights of others. It is necessary, above all, that this judicial redress, essentially noble and humane, shall be a staunch bulwark against popular fickleness, as inconsiderate as it is feverish, in which sentiment governs and almost always spurs on governments to the fatality of war on account of futile and insufficient causes, so that horrors and misfortunes are loosed that must devolve upon the people themselves.

If we protect ourselves from idealisms, if we are never to patronize the cowardly and inert peace of him who refuses to defend his existence and the interests that make the human heart beat more violently, nevertheless we do believe in peace lawfully organized, in the magistracy of justice as a common and preexisting rule, applicable to all disputes such as it is sought to organize by the declaration and uniform agreement to submit to arbitration.

In this work of common security and prosperity

that embraces the future of this continent and that, once carried into effect, will signalize the most effective and greatest advance in the law of nations, a prominent part belongs to the great Republic that has staked her power and fortune on peace. In it we have endeavored to cooperate in good faith and without reserve, and in it, also, the ardent sympathy and the boundless confidence of the Peruvian people will follow.

And since the unmerited honor has fallen to my lot of addressing myself on this memorable occasion to the distinguished personage, to the high dignitary of the nation which in the world represents the greatest intensity of national life on account of the unrestricted development of the human faculties and the most certain and practical evolution of law among nations, I believe that I interpret the unanimous sentiment of my colleagues and of my country, furnishing him complete evidence of our cordial adherence and of our faith in the work intrusted to his talents and to his high character.

Reply of Mr. Root.

Mr. President, Mr. Rector, and Gentlemen of the University of San Marcos:

I am deeply sensible of the great honor which you confer upon me, an honor coming from this primate of the universities of the New World; an honor which receives me into the company of men learned, devoted to science, the disciples of truth—men eminent in the republic of letters. I am the more appreciative of this emblem because I am myself the son of a college professor, born within the precincts of a learned institution and all my life closely associated with higher education in the United States of America. But, I realize, sir, that my personality plays no considerable part in the ceremony of to-day. Happy is he who comes, by whatever chance, to stand as the representative of a great cause; as the representative of ideas which conciliate the feelings and arouse the enthusiasm of men; for the cause sheds light upon his person, however small, and the honor of his purpose reflects honor on him.

It has been with the greatest satisfaction that I have heard from the lips of the learned rector and professor of this university so just and so high an

estimate of the contributions made by my country to the cause of ordered liberty and justice in the world. I feel that what has been said here to-day is of far greater weight than any ordinary compliment, because it comes from men who speak under the grave responsibility of their high station as instructors of their countrymen and after deliberate study, resulting in definite and certain conclusions.

It is a matter of most interesting reflection that after the nations of the Old World, from which we took our being, had sought for many years to gain wealth and strength and profit by the enforcement of a narrow and mistaken colonial policy, the revolt of the colonies of the New World brought to the mother nations infinitely greater blessings than even they were seeking. The reflex action of the working of the spirit of freedom on these shores of the new hemisphere upon the welfare of the countless millions of the Old World has been of a value incalculable and inconceivable to the minds against whose mistaken policy we revolted.

I have always thought, sir, that the chief contribution of the United States of America to political science was the device of incorporating in written constitutions an expression of the great principles which underlie human freedom and human justice, and putting it in the power of the judicial branch of the government to pass judgment upon the conformity of political action to those principles.

When in the fullness of time the hour had come

for the new experiment in government among men, and it was the fate of the young and feeble colonies upon the coast of the North Atlantic to make the experiment, the Old World was full of the most dismal forebodings as to the result. The world was told that the experiment of democratic government meant the rule of the mob; that it might work well to-day, but to-morrow the mob who had had but half a breakfast and could expect no dinner would take control; and that the tyranny of the mob was worse than the tyranny of any individual.

The provisions of our constitutions guard against the tyranny of the mob, for at the time when men can deal in harmony with the principles of justice, when no selfish motive exists, when no excited passions exist, the constitution declares the great principles of justice—that no man shall be deprived of his property without due process of the law; that private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation; that a person accused of crime shall be entitled to be informed of the charge against him and given an opportunity to defend himself. These provisions are essential to the preservation of liberty, and in the hands of judicial power rests the prerogative of declaring that whenever a congress, or a president, or a general, or whatever officer of whatever rank or dignity infringes, by a hair's breadth, upon any one of these great impersonal declarations of human right, his acts cease to have official effect. The substitution of the divine

quality of judgment, of the judicial quality in man, that quality which is bound by all that honor, by all that respect for human rights, by all that self-respect can accomplish, to lay aside all fear or favor and decide justly—the substitution of that quality for the fevered passions of the hour, for political favor and political hope, for political ambition, for personal selfishness and personal greed—that is the contribution, the great contribution, of the American Constitution to the political science of the world.

If we pass to the field most ably and interestingly discussed in the paper to which we have just listened, to the field of international justice, we find the same principle less fully developed. I had almost said we find the need for the application of the same principle. All international law and international justice depend upon national law and national justice. No assemblage of nations can be expected to establish and maintain any higher standard as between each other than that which each maintains within its own borders. Just as the standard of justice and civilization in a community depends upon the individual character of the elements of the community, so the standard of justice among nations depends upon the standard established in each individual nation. Now, in the field of international arbitration we find a less fully developed sense of impersonal justice than we find in our municipal jurisprudence. Many years ago the Marquis of Salisbury, in a very able note,

pointed out the extreme difficulty which lies in the way of international arbitration, arising from the difficulty of securing arbitrators who will act impartially, the trouble being that the world has not yet passed, in general, out of that stage of development in which men, even if they be arbitrators, act diplomatically instead of acting judicially. Arbitrations are too apt, therefore, to lead to diplomatic compromises rather than to judicial decisions. The remedy is not by abandoning the principle of arbitration, but it is by pressing on in every country and among all countries the quickened conscience, the higher standard, the judicial idea, the sense of the responsibility for impartial judgment in international affairs as distinguished from the opportunity for negotiation in international affairs. We are too apt, both those who are despondent about the progress of civilization and those who are cynical about the unselfishness of mankind, to be impatient in our judgment and to forget how long the life of a nation is, and how slow the processes of civilization are; how long it takes to change character and to educate whole peoples up to different standards of moral law. The principle of arbitration requires not merely declarations by governments, by congresses, but it requires that education of the people of all civilized countries up to the same standard which exists now regarding the sacredness of judicial function exercised in our courts. It does not follow from this that the declaration of the principle of arbitration is not of value; it does not follow

that governments and congresses are not advancing the cause of international justice: a principle recognized and declared always gains fresh strength and force; but for the accomplishment of the results which all of us desire in the substitution of arbitration for war, we must not be content with the declaration of principles; we must carry on an active campaign of universal national and international education, elevating the idea of the sacredness of the exercise of the judicial function in arbitration as well as in litigation between individuals. Still deeper than that goes the duty that rests upon us. Arbitration is but the method of preventing war after nations have drawn up in opposition to each other with serious differences and excited feelings. The true, the permanent, and the final method of preventing war is to educate the people who make war or peace, the people who control parliaments and congresses to a love for justice and regard for the rights of others. So we come to the duty that rests here—not in the whims or the preference or the policy of a monarch, but here, in this university, in every institution of learning throughout the civilized world, with every teacher—the responsibility of determining the great issues of peace and war through the responsibility of teaching the people of our countries the love of justice, teaching them to seek the victories of peace rather than the glories of war, to regard more highly an act of justice and of generosity than even an act of courage or an act of heroism. In this great work of educating

the people of the American Republics to peace there are no political divisions. As there is, and has been since the dawn of civilization, but one republic of science, but one republic of letters, let there be but one republic of the politics of peace, one great university of the professors and instructors of justice, of respect for human rights, of consideration for others, and of the peace of the world.

VIII.

Speeches in Panama.

Speech of His Excellency Ricardo Arias, Secretary of Government and Foreign Relations, in the National Assembly, at Panama, September 21, 1906.

MR. SECRETARY:

You have just visited the wealthiest capitals of South America, real emporiums of its richness; there you have been received with great magnificence. Our outward manifestations of joy, on the occasion of your visit, may, therefore, appear to you very humble, but you can rest assured that none of them will surpass us in the intensity of sympathetic feeling towards your person and towards the noble American people that you so worthily represent.

We Panamans always remember with gratitude the interest we inspired in you from the very first days of our national existence, and we bear in mind very specially your timely speech delivered at the Hamilton Club when our destiny was pending on the scales of a decision of your Senate, and therefore we avail ourselves of this joyful opportunity to receive you with the cordiality due to an old and good friend.

It has been, and it is yet, the vehement desire of your country to bring into closer ties, as far as possible, its political and commercial relations with the

Latin-American countries. The similarity of traditions and institutions, the vicinity and continuity of their territories, and the vast field of commercial expansion which they offer fully justify that natural, legitimate desire, which is also mutually beneficial; but there being between yours and the latter countries essential differences of language, race, disposition, and education there is bound to exist in them the suspicion which is naturally engendered by the unknown, and thus it is that the first steps taken towards the accomplishment of your desire should have been the removal of that suspicion by means of friendly intercourse and mutual acquaintance.

With the tact brought forth by your vast intelligence and learning you fully understood that those do not love each other well who are not intimately acquainted, and it is owing to this fact that you decided to come in person to visit and to know the Latin-Americans by your own observation and study, and no doubt you carry with you a joyful impression of the progress and nobleness of disposition of our southern brothers, together with the assurance that your mission will achieve a new and splendid triumph for that American diplomacy whereof you are the skillful director, and the principal object of which is the accomplishment of the desire of which I have already spoken.

Being desirous to cooperate in the aims you have in view, and with the idea of dispelling certain existing misunderstandings concerning the motives

and intentions which originated our present pleasant relations, in a statement which I recently addressed to your Government through its minister plenipotentiary here I recounted the historical events which engendered our national existence and those special relations which link us to your country, in order that when the seal of diplomatic silence is removed and said statement becomes public property the world may know, through the unimpeachable testimony of history, that only ideals of the highest altruism served as a guide to the foundation of our Republic and to the celebration of the treaty concerning the construction of the Interoceanic Canal for our benefit and *pro mundi beneficio.*

Panama offers you a splendid field to promote the wise international policy which labors in your mind. We being of similar conditions as our Latin-American brothers, being linked to your country by the closest ties that can exist between two independent nations, you having the means of exerting decisive influence in our future life and we being situated in the compulsory and constant path of universal transit, shall be an evident, glaring example of the benefit which your country can and is willing to dispense in favor of the countries of our race, and the proof of the sincerity of your good designs exposed to the criticism of those interested in the most culminating and propitious place. The fruits of your influence are already felt and seen. Peace, which we consider as a blessing, is a permanent fact.

Under its shelter, and under that of the assurances given us by your illustrious President in his famous letter of the 18th October, 1904, addressed to the Secretary of War, Panama has entered with firm step upon the path of material, intellectual, and moral development. Those who knew us a little over two years ago, disheartened and ruined by bad government and civil war, and see to-day the change that has taken place in us in such a short time, carry to the north and south the gratifying news of our regeneration and thereby contribute to dispel unfounded suspicions regarding yourselves.

These good results are the forerunners of greater benefits which we are to expect in the future and the effect of the cooperation of the agents of your Government in the progress of the country in general, of their friendly and timely advice, and of their decided moral support whenever there has been need thereof.

I should and will profit by this opportunity to convey to you the gratitude of the Government and people of Panama for the special consideration which has been extended to them by the Government of your country. This has been evidenced principally by the select diplomatic staff sent to us, starting with the very able Hon. William I. Buchanan, its first minister plenipotentiary, up to the popular Hon. Charles E. Magoon, who can hardly be replaced and whose separation from the post he occupies with general satisfaction has caused great regret in the country, from the very highest corpo-

ration to the most humble citizen; and not satisfied with that you have sent us, doing us an unmerited honor, in the first place, by special order of your very noble President, your Secretary of War, Hon. William H. Taft, who established the relations between our two countries on the happy basis of mutual cordiality and justice on which they are at present, and now, Mr. Secretary, you do us the great honor of coming yourself on a visit, placing us on a level with the powerful Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Peru, and Uruguay; and, furthermore, which appears to be the extreme limit of what is possible, you allow us to look forward to the coming visit of your great President, the most distinguished of existing rulers—a special honor which has not been vouchsafed even to the most powerful nations of the world. Panama, overwhelmed with so many marks of appreciation, will preserve them as an everlasting remembrance of gratitude towards your noble country; and in return, though it be but partial, we will follow your advice, we will cooperate without reserve and with enthusiasm in the great work of the Interoceanic Canal, which is bound to be the most magnificent monument of the grandeur of your people; and we will likewise support you in the mission of American brotherhood which you have undertaken, founding a nation which shall distinguish itself by its love of work, of honor, of order, and of justice, which you can subsequently present to the world as the result of your good influence.

Reply of Mr. Root.

MR. PRESIDENT, YOUR EXCELLENCY, AND GENTLEMEN:

I thank you for your kind welcome to me, and for the friendship to my country expressed in that welcome, and I thank you for the honor conferred upon me by this reception in the legislative body which is charged with the government of this Republic. You have justly said, sir, that I am deeply interested in the affairs of the people of Panama. At the time of the events which led to your independence I studied your history carefully and thoroughly from original documents, in order to determine in my own mind what the course of my country ought to be. From that study have resulted a keen sense of the manifold injuries and injustices under which the people of Panama have suffered in years past; a strong sympathy with you in your efforts and aspirations towards a better condition in your country; a fervent hope for your prosperity and welfare.

It is with the greatest pleasure that I have heard the expressions of friendship for my country, because of my feeling toward you and because of the special relations which exist between the two countries.

We are engaged together in the prosecution of a great, a momentous enterprise—an enterprise which has been the dream not only of the early navigators who first colonized your coasts, but of the most progressive of mankind for four centuries. Its successful accomplishment will make Panama the very center of the world's trade; you will stand upon the greatest of highways of commerce; more than the ancient glories of the Isthmus will be restored; and there lies before you in the future of this successful enterprise wealth, prosperity, the opportunity for education, for cultivation, and for intercourse with all the world such as has never before been brought to any people. The success of the enterprise will unite the far-separated Atlantic and Pacific coasts of my country; it will give to us the credit of great deeds done, and make the Atlantic and Pacific for us as but one ocean, and the success of this enterprise will give to the world a new highway of commerce and the possibility of a distinct and enormous advance in that communication between nations which is the surest guaranty of peace and civilization.

The performance of this work is to be accomplished by us jointly. You furnish the country, the place, the soil, the atmosphere, the surrounding population among which the people who do the work are to live and where the work is to be maintained. We furnish the capital and the trained constructive ability which has grown up in the course of centuries of development of the northern continent. The

work is difficult and delicate; the two peoples, the Anglo-American and the Spanish-American, are widely different in their traditions, their laws, their customs, their methods of thinking and speaking and doing business. It often happens that we misunderstand each other; it often happens that we fail to appreciate your good qualities and that you fail to appreciate ours; and that with perfectly good intentions, with the best of purposes and the kindliest of feelings, we clash, we fail to understand each other, we get at cross-purposes, and misconception and discord are liable to arise. Let us remember this in all our intercourse; let us be patient with each other; let us believe in the sincerity of our mutual good purposes and kindly feelings and be patient and forbearing each with the other, so that we may go on together in the accomplishment of this great enterprise; together bring it to a successful conclusion; together share in the glory of the great work done, and in the prosperity that will come from the result.

Mr. President and gentlemen, let me assure you that in the share which the United States is taking and is to take in this work there is and can be but one feeling and one desire towards the people of Panama. It is a feeling of friendship, sincere and lasting; it is a feeling of strong desire that wisdom may control the deliberations of this Assembly; that judgment and prudence and love of country may rule in all your councils and may control all

your actions; it is a desire and a firm purpose that so far as in us lies there shall be preserved for you the precious boon of free self-government. We do not wish to govern you or to interfere in your Government because we are larger and stronger; we believe that the principle of liberty and the rights of men are more important than the size of armies or the number of battleships. That independence which we, first among the nations of the earth, recognized, it is our desire to have maintained inviolate. Believe this; be patient with us, as we will be patient with you, and I hope, I believe, that at some future day we shall all be sailing through the canal together, congratulating each other upon our share in that great and beneficent work.

IX.

Speeches in Colombia.

Speech of His Excellency Vasquez-Cobo, Minister for Foreign Affairs, at a breakfast, given to Mr. Root, at Cartagena, September 24, 1906.

[Translation from the Spanish.]

MR. SECRETARY:

Upon receiving your excellency within the confines of our heroic and glorious Cartagena, I present to you a cordial greeting of welcome, in the name of Colombia, of His Excellency the President of the Republic, and in my own.

You return to your own country to enjoy merited honors and laurels after a long tour, giving a hearty embrace of friendship to our sisters, the Republics of the South, and in breaking your journey upon our burning shores we receive you as the herald of peace, of justice, and of concord with which the great Republic of the North greets the American Continent. I trust to God that these walls, the austere witnesses of our glory, will serve as a monument whereby this visit may be noted in history!

The Honorable Minister Barrett, the worthy and estimable representative of your excellency's Government, has just finished journeying through a large part of our vast territory; he, better than any

one, will be able to tell your excellency what he has seen in our beautiful and fertile valleys and mountains, in our flourishing cities and fields, and among the five millions of lusty, high-minded, peace-loving, and hard-working inhabitants, who to-day think only of peace and useful and honest toil.

This is the nation that greets you to-day and with loyalty and frankness clasps the hand of her sister of the North.

Mr. Secretary, upon thanking you for the honor of this visit, I fervently pray that a happy outcome may crown your efforts in the great work of American confraternity, and I drink to the prosperity and greatness of the United States, to its President, and especially to your excellency.

Reply of Mr. Root.

YOUR EXCELLENCY, AND GENTLEMEN:

Believe, I beg you, in the sincerity of my appreciation and my thanks for the courtesy with which you have received me, and for the honor which you have shown me. When the suggestion was made that upon my return from a voyage encircling the continent of South America I should stop at Cartagena for an interview with you, sir, before returning to my own country, I accepted with alacrity and with pleasure, because it was most grateful to me to testify by my presence upon your shores to my high respect for your great country, the country of Bolívar; to my sincere desire that all questions which exist between the United States of Colombia and the United States of America may be settled peacefully, in the spirit of friendship, of mutual esteem, and with honor for both countries. Especially, also, I was glad to come to Colombia as an evidence of my esteem and regard for that noble and great man whom it is the privilege of Colombia to call her President to-day—General Reyes. I have had the privilege of personal acquaintance with him, and I look upon his conduct of affairs in the Chief

Magistracy of your Republic with the twofold interest of one who loves his fellow-men and desires the prosperity and happiness of the people of Colombia, and of a personal regard and friendship for the President himself.

I have been much gratified during my visit to so many of the Republics of South America to find universally the spirit of a new industrial and commercial awakening, to find a new era of enterprise and prosperity dawning in the Southern Continent.

Mr. Minister and gentlemen, it will be the cause of sincere happiness to me if through the present friendly relations, based upon personal knowledge acquired here, I may do something towards helping the Republic of Colombia forward along the pathway of the new development of South America. With your vast agricultural and mineral wealth, with the incalculable richness of your domain, the wealth and prosperity of Colombia are sure to come some time. Let us hope that they will come now while we are living, in order that you may transfer to your children not the possibility but the realization of the increased greatness of your country. Let us hope that some advance of this new era of progress may come from the pleasant friendships formed to-day. While I return my thanks to you for your courtesy let me assure you that there is nothing that could give greater pleasure to the President and to the people of the United States of America than to feel that they may have some part

in promoting the prosperity and the happiness of this sister Republic.

I ask you to join me in drinking to the peace, the prosperity, the order, the justice, the liberty of the Republic of Colombia, and long life and a prosperous career in office to its President—General Reyes.

APPENDIX.

Speech of Mr. Elihu Root on Commercial Relations with South America before the Trans-Mississippi Commercial Congress, Kansas City, November 20, 1906.

Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Congress:

A little less than three centuries of colonial and national life have brought the people inhabiting the United States, by a process of evolution, natural and with the existing forces inevitable, to a point of distinct and radical change in their economic relations to the rest of mankind.

During the period now past the energy of our people, directed by the formative power created in our early population by heredity, by environment, by the struggle for existence, by individual independence, and by free institutions, has been devoted to the internal development of our own country. The surplus wealth produced by our labors has been applied immediately to reproduction in our own land. We have been cutting down forests and breaking virgin soil and fencing prairies and opening mines of coal and iron and copper and silver and gold, and building roads and canals and railroads and telegraph lines and cars and locomotives

and mills and furnaces and schoolhouses and colleges and libraries and hospitals and asylums and public buildings and storehouses and shops and homes. We have been drawing on the resources of the world in capital and in labor to aid us in our work. We have gathered strength from every rich and powerful nation and expended it upon these home undertakings; into them we have poured hundreds of millions of money attracted from the investors of Europe. We have been always a debtor nation, borrowing from the rest of the world, drawing all possible energy towards us and concentrating it with our own energy upon our own enterprises. The engrossing pursuit of our own opportunities has excluded from our consideration and interest the enterprises and the possibilities of the outside world. Invention, discovery, the progress of science, capacity for organization, the enormous increase in the productive power of mankind, have accelerated our progress and have brought us to a result of development in every branch of internal industrial activity marvelous and unprecedented in the history of the world.

Since the first election of President McKinley the people of the United States have for the first time accumulated a surplus of capital beyond the requirements of internal development. That surplus is increasing with extraordinary rapidity. We have paid our debts to Europe and have become a creditor instead of a debtor nation; we have faced about;

we have left the ranks of the borrowing nations and have entered the ranks of the investing nations. Our surplus energy is beginning to look beyond our own borders, throughout the world, to find opportunity for the profitable use of our surplus capital, foreign markets for our manufactures, foreign mines to be developed, foreign bridges and railroads and public works to be built, foreign rivers to be turned into electric power and light. As in their several ways England and France and Germany have stood, so we in our own way are beginning to stand and must continue to stand towards the industrial enterprise of the world.

That we are not beginning our new rôle feebly is indicated by $1,518,561,666 of exports in the year 1905 as against $1,117,513,071 of imports, and by $1,743,864,500 exports in the year 1906 as against $1,226,563,843 of imports. Our first steps in the new field indeed are somewhat clumsy and unskilled. In our own vast country, with oceans on either side, we have had too little contact with foreign peoples readily to understand their customs or learn their languages; yet no one can doubt that we shall learn and shall understand and shall do our business abroad, as we have done it at home, with force and efficiency.

Coincident with this change in the United States the progress of political development has been carrying the neighboring continent of South America out of the stage of militarism into the stage of industrialism. Throughout the greater part of that

vast continent revolutions have ceased to be looked upon with favor or submitted to with indifference; the revolutionary general and the dictator are no longer the objects of admiration and imitation; civic virtues command the highest respect; the people point with satisfaction and pride to the stability of their Governments, to the safety of property and the certainty of justice; nearly everywhere the people are eager for foreign capital to develop their natural resources and for foreign immigration to occupy their vacant land. Immediately before us, at exactly the right time, just as we are ready for it, great opportunities for peaceful commercial and industrial expansion to the south are presented. Other investing nations are already in the field—England, France, Germany, Italy, Spain; but the field is so vast, the new demands are so great, the progress so rapid, that what other nations have done up to this time is but a slight advance in the race for the grand total. The opportunities are so large that figures fail to convey them. The area of this newly awakened continent is 7,502,848 square miles—more than two and one-half times as large as the United States without Alaska, and more than double the United States including Alaska. A large part of this area lies within the Temperate Zone, with an equable and invigorating climate, free from extremes of either heat or cold. Farther north in the Tropics are enormous expanses of high table-lands, stretching from the Atlantic to the foot-

hills of the Andes, and lifted far above the tropical heats; the fertile valleys of the western cordilleras are cooled by perpetual snows even under the Equator; vast forests grow untouched from a soil of incredible richness. The plains of Argentina, the great uplands of Brazil, the mountain valleys of Chile, Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Colombia are suited to the habitation of any race, however far to the north its origin may have been; hundreds of millions of men can find healthful homes and abundant sustenance in this great territory.

The population in 1900 was only 42,461,381, less than six to the square mile. The density of population was less than one-eighth of that in the State of Missouri, less than one-sixtieth of that in the State of Massachusetts, less than one-seventieth of that in England, less than 1 per cent of that in Belgium.

With this sparse population the production of wealth is already enormous. The latest trade statistics show exports from South America to foreign countries of $745,530,000, and imports of $499,858,600. Of the five hundred millions of goods that South America buys we sell them but $63,246,525, or 12.6 per cent. Of the seven hundred and forty-five millions that South America sells we buy $152,092,000, or 20.4 per cent—nearly two and a half times as much as we sell.

Their production is increasing by leaps and bounds. In eleven years the exports of Chile have

increased 45 per cent, from $54,030,000 in 1894 to $78,840,000 in 1905. In eight years the exports of Peru have increased 100 per cent, from $13,899,000 in 1897 to $28,758,000 in 1905. In ten years the exports of Brazil have increased 66 per cent, from $134,062,000 in 1894 to $223,101,000 in 1905. In ten years the exports of Argentina have increased 168 per cent, from $115,868,000 in 1895 to $311,544,000 in 1905.

This is only the beginning; the coffee and rubber of Brazil, the wheat and beef and hides of Argentina and Uruguay, the copper and nitrates of Chile, the copper and tin of Bolivia, the silver and gold and cotton and sugar of Peru, are but samples of what the soil and mines of that wonderful continent are capable of yielding. Ninety-seven per cent of the territory of South America is occupied by ten independent Republics living under constitutions substantially copied or adapted from our own. Under the new conditions of tranquillity and security which prevail in most of them their eager invitation to immigrants from the Old World will not long pass unheeded. The pressure of population abroad will inevitably turn its streams of life and labor towards those fertile fields and valleys. The streams have already begun to flow; more than two hundred thousand immigrants entered the Argentine Republic last year; they are coming this year at the rate of over three hundred thousand. Many thousands of Germans have already settled in southern

Brazil. They are most welcome in Brazil; they are good and useful citizens there, as they are here; I hope that many more will come to Brazil and every other South American country, and add their vigorous industry and good citizenship to the upbuilding of their adopted home.

With the increase of population in such a field, under free institutions, with the fruits of labor and the rewards of enterprise secure, the production of wealth and the increase of purchasing power will afford a market for the commerce of the world worthy to rank even with the markets of the Orient as the goal of business enterprise. The material resources of South America are in some important respects complementary to our own; that continent is weakest where North America is strongest as a field for manufactures; it has comparatively little coal and iron. In many respects the people of the two continents are complementary to each other; the South American is polite, refined, cultivated, fond of literature and of expression and of the graces and charms of life, while the North American is strenuous, intense, utilitarian. Where we accumulate, they spend. While we have less of the cheerful philosophy which finds sources of happiness in the existing conditions of life, they have less of the inventive faculty which strives continually to increase the productive power of man and lower the cost of manufacture. The chief merits of the peoples of the two continents are different; their

chief defects are different. Mutual intercourse and knowledge can not fail to greatly benefit both. Each can learn from the other; each can teach much to the other, and each can contribute greatly to the development and prosperity of the other. A large part of their products find no domestic competition here; a large part of our products will find no domestic competition there. The typical conditions exist for that kind of trade which is profitable, honorable, and beneficial to both parties.

The relations between the United States and South America have been chiefly political rather than commercial or personal. In the early days of the South American struggle for independence the eloquence of Henry Clay awakened in the American people a generous sympathy for the patriots of the south as for brethren struggling in the common cause of liberty. The clear-eyed, judicious diplomacy of Richard Rush, the American minister at the Court of St. James, effected a complete understanding with Great Britain for concurrent action in opposition to the designs of the Holy Alliance, already contemplating the partition of the Southern Continent among the great powers of Continental Europe. The famous declaration of Monroe arrayed the organized and rapidly increasing power of the United States as an obstacle to European interference and made it forever plain that the cost of European aggression would be greater than any advantage which could be won even by successful aggression.

That great declaration was not the chance expression of the opinion or the feeling of the moment; it crystallized the sentiment for human liberty and human rights which has saved American idealism from the demoralization of narrow selfishness, and has given to American democracy its true world power in the virile potency of a great example. It responded to the instinct of self-preservation in an intensely practical people. It was the result of conference with Jefferson and Madison and John Quincy Adams and John C. Calhoun and William Wirt—a combination of political wisdom, experience, and skill not easily surpassed. The particular circumstances which led to the declaration no longer exist; no Holy Alliance now threatens to partition South America; no European colonization of the west coast threatens to exclude us from the Pacific. But those conditions were merely the occasion for the declaration of a principle of action. Other occasions for the application of the principle have arisen since; it needs no prophetic vision to see that other occasions for its application may arise hereafter. The principle declared by Monroe is as wise an expression of sound political judgment to-day, as truthful a representation of the sentiments and instincts of the American people to-day, as living in its force as an effective rule of conduct whenever occasion shall arise, as it was on the 2d of December, 1823.

These great political services to South American

independence, however, did not and could not in the nature of things create any relation between the people of South America and the people of the United States except a relation of political sympathy.

Twenty-five years ago Mr. Blaine, sanguine, resourceful, and gifted with that imagination which enlarges the historian's understanding of the past into the statesman's comprehension of the future, undertook to inaugurate a new era of American relations which should supplement political sympathy by personal acquaintance, by the intercourse of expanding trade, and by mutual helpfulness. As Secretary of State under President Arthur, he invited the American nations to a conference to be held on the 24th of November, 1882, for the purpose of considering and discussing the subject of preventing war between the nations of America. That invitation, abandoned by Mr. Frelinghuysen, was renewed under Mr. Cleveland, and on the 2d of October, 1889, Mr. Blaine, again Secretary of State under President Harrison, had the singular good fortune to execute his former design and to open the sessions of the First American Conference at Washington. In an address of wisdom and lofty spirit, which should ever give honor to his memory, he described the assembly as—

> an honorable, peaceful conference of seventeen independent American powers, in which all shall meet together on terms of absolute equality; a conference in which there can be no attempt to coerce a single delegate against his

own conception of the interests of his nation; a conference which will permit no secret understanding on any subject, but will frankly publish to the world all its conclusions; a conference which will tolerate no spirit of conquest, but will aim to cultivate an American sympathy as broad as both continents; a conference which will form no selfish alliance against the older nations from which we are proud to claim inheritance—a conference, in fine, which will seek nothing, propose nothing, endure nothing that is not, in the general sense of all the delegates, timely, wise, and peaceful.

The policy which Blaine inaugurated has been continued; the Congress of the United States has approved it; subsequent Presidents have followed it. The First Conference at Washington has been succeeded by a Second Conference in Mexico, and now by a Third Conference in Rio de Janeiro; and it is to be followed in years to come by further successive assemblies in which the representatives of all American States shall acquire better knowledge and more perfect understanding and be drawn together by the recognition of common interests and the kindly consideration and discussion of measures for mutual benefit.

Nevertheless, Mr. Blaine was in advance of his time. In 1881 and 1889 neither had the United States reached a point where it could turn its energies away from its own internal development and direct them outward towards the development of foreign enterprises and foreign trade, nor had the South American countries reached the stage of

stability in government and security for property necessary to their industrial development.

Now, however, the time has come; both North and South America have grown up to Blaine's policy; the production, the trade, the capital, the enterprise of the United States have before them the opportunity to follow, and they are free to follow, the pathway marked out by the far-sighted statesmanship of Blaine for the growth of America, North and South, in the peaceful prosperity of a mighty commerce.

To utilize this opportunity certain practical things must be done. For the most part these things must be done by a multitude of individual efforts; they can not be done by government. Government may help to furnish facilities for the doing of them, but the facilities will be useless unless used by individuals. They can not be done by resolutions of this or any other commercial body; resolutions are useless unless they stir individual business men to action in their own business affairs. The things needed have been fully and specifically set forth in many reports of efficient consuls and of highly competent agents of the Department of Commerce and Labor, and they have been described in countless newspapers and magazine articles; but all these things are worthless unless they are followed by individual action. I will indicate some of the matters to which every producer and merchant who desires South American trade should pay attention:

1. He should learn what the South Americans want and conform his product to their wants. If they think they need heavy castings, he should give them heavy castings and not expect them to buy light ones because he thinks they are better. If they want coarse cottons, he should give them coarse cottons and not expect them to buy fine cottons. It may not pay to-day, but it will pay to-morrow. The tendency to standardize articles of manufacture may reduce the cost and promote convenience, but if the consumers on the River Plate demand a different standard from the consumers on the Mississippi, you must have two standards or lose one market.

2. Both for the purpose of learning what the South American people want and of securing their attention to your goods you must have agents who speak the Spanish or Portuguese language. For this there are two reasons: one is that people can seldom really get at each other's minds through an interpreter, and the other is that nine times out of ten it is only through knowing the Spanish or Portuguese language that a North American comes to appreciate the admirable and attractive personal qualities of the South American, and is thus able to establish that kindly and agreeable personal relation which is so potent in leading to business relations.

3. The American producer should arrange to conform his credit system to that prevailing in the country where he wishes to sell goods. There is

no more money lost upon commercial credits in South America than there is in North America; but business men there have their own ways of doing business; they have to adapt the credits they receive to the credits they give. It is often inconvenient and disagreeable, and it is sometimes impossible, for them to conform to our ways, and the requirement that they should do so is a serious obstacle to trade.

To understand credits it is, of course, necessary to know something about the character, trustworthiness, and commercial standing of the purchaser, and the American producer or merchant who would sell goods in South America must have some means of knowledge upon this subject. This leads naturally to the next observation I have to make.

4. The establishment of banks should be brought about. The Americans already engaged in South American trade could well afford to subscribe the capital and establish an American bank in each of the principal cities of South America. This is, first, because nothing but very bad management could prevent such a bank from making money; capital is much needed in those cities, and 6, 8, and 10 per cent can be obtained for money upon just as safe security as can be had in Kansas City, St. Louis, or New York. It is also because the American bank would furnish a source of information as to the standing of the South American purchasers to whom credit may be extended, and because American banks would relieve American business

in South America from the disadvantage which now exists of making all its financial transactions through Europe instead of directly with the United States. It is unfortunately true that among hundreds of thousands of possible customers the United States now stands in a position of assumed financial and business inferiority to the countries through whose banking houses all its business has to be done.

5. The American merchant should himself acquire, if he has not already done so, and should impress upon all his agents that respect for the South American to which he is justly entitled and which is the essential requisite to respect from the South American. We are different in many ways as to character and methods. In dealing with all foreign people it is important to avoid the narrow and uninstructed prejudice which assumes that difference from ourselves denotes inferiority. There is nothing that we resent so quickly as an assumption of superiority or evidence of condescension in foreigners; there is nothing that the South Americans resent so quickly. The South Americans are our superiors in some respects; we are their superiors in other respects. We should show to them what is best in us and see what is best in them. Every agent of an American producer or merchant should be instructed that courtesy, politeness, kindly consideration, are essential requisites for success in the South American trade.

6. The investment of American capital in South America under the direction of American experts should be promoted, not merely upon simple investment grounds, but as a means of creating and enlarging trade. For simple investment purposes the opportunities are innumerable. Good business judgment and good business management will be necessary there, of course, as they are necessary here; but, given these, I believe that there is a vast number of enterprises awaiting capital in the more advanced countries of South America, capable of yielding great profits, and in which the property and the profits will be as safe as in the United States or Canada. A good many such enterprises are already begun. I have found a graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, a graduate of the Columbia School of Mines, and a graduate of Colonel Roosevelt's Rough Riders smelting copper close under the snow line of the Andes; I have ridden in an American car upon an American electric road, built by a New York engineer, in the heart of the coffee region of Brazil; and I have seen the waters of that river along which Pizarro established his line of communication in the conquest of Peru harnessed to American machinery to make light and power for the city of Lima. Every such point is the nucleus of American trade—the source of orders for American goods.

7. It is absolutely essential that the means of communication between the two countries should be improved and increased.

This underlies all other considerations and it applies both to the mail, the passenger, and the freight services. Between all the principal South American ports and England, Germany, France, Spain, Italy, lines of swift and commodious steamers ply regularly. There are five subsidized first-class mail and passenger lines between Buenos Aires and Europe; there is no such line between Buenos Aires and the United States. Within the past two years the German, the English, and the Italian lines have been replacing their old steamers with new and swifter steamers of modern construction, accommodation, and capacity.

In the year ending June 30, 1905, there entered the port of Rio de Janeiro steamers and sailing vessels flying the flag of Austria-Hungary 120, of Norway 142, of Italy 165, of Argentina 264, of France 349, of Germany 657, of Great Britain 1,785, of the United States no steamers and seven sailing vessels, two of which were in distress!

An English firm runs a small steamer monthly between New York and Rio de Janeiro; the Panama Railroad Company runs steamers between New York and the Isthmus of Panama; the Brazilians are starting for themselves a line between Rio and New York; there are two or three foreign concerns running slow cargo boats, and there are some foreign tramp steamers. That is the sum total of American communications with South America beyond the Caribbean Sea. Not one American steamship runs to any South American port beyond the Caribbean.

During the past summer I entered the ports of Para, Pernambuco, Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, Santos, Montevideo, Buenos Aires, Bahia Blanca, Punta Arenas, Lota, Valparaiso, Coquimbo, Tocopilla, Callao, and Cartagena—all of the great ports and a large proportion of the secondary ports of the Southern Continent. I saw only one ship, besides the cruiser that carried me, flying the American flag. The mails between South America and Europe are swift, regular, and certain; between South America and the United States they are slow, irregular, and uncertain. Six weeks is not an uncommon time for a letter to take between Buenos Aires or Valparaiso and New York. The merchant who wishes to order American goods can not know when his order will be received or when it will be filled. The freight charges between the South American cities and American cities are generally and substantially higher than between the same cities and Europe; at many points the deliveries of freight are uncertain and its condition upon arrival doubtful. The passenger accommodations are such as to make a journey to the United States a trial to be endured and a journey to Europe a pleasure to be enjoyed. The best way to travel between the United States and both the southwest coast and the east coast of South America is to go by way of Europe, crossing the Atlantic twice. It is impossible that trade should prosper or intercourse increase or mutual knowledge grow to any great degree under such circumstances. The communication is worse now than it was twenty-

five years ago. So long as it is left in the hands of our foreign competitors in business we can not reasonably look for any improvement. It is only reasonable to expect that European steamship lines shall be so managed as to promote European trade in South America rather than to promote the trade of the United States in South America.

This woeful deficiency in the means to carry on and enlarge our South American trade is but a part of the general decline and feebleness of the American merchant marine, which has reduced us from carrying over 90 per cent of our export trade in our own ships to the carriage of 9 per cent of that trade in our own ships and dependence upon foreign shipowners for the carriage of 91 per cent. The true remedy and the only remedy is the establishment of American lines of steamships between the United States and the great ports of South America, adequate to render fully as good service as is now afforded by the European lines between those ports and Europe. The substantial underlying fact was well stated in the resolution of this Trans-Mississippi Congress three years ago:

> That every ship is a missionary of trade; that steamship lines work for their own countries just as railroad lines work for their terminal points, and that it is as absurd for the United States to depend upon foreign ships to distribute its products as it would be for a department store to depend upon wagons of a competing house to deliver its goods.

How can this defect be remedied? The answer to this question must be found by ascertaining the cause of the decline of our merchant marine. Why is it that Americans have substantially retired from the foreign transport service? We are a nation of maritime traditions and facility; we are a nation of constructive capacity, competent to build ships; we are eminent, if not preeminent, in the construction of machinery; we have abundant capital seeking investment; we have courage and enterprise shrinking from no competition in any field which we choose to enter. Why, then, have we retired from this field in which we were once conspicuously successful?

I think the answer is twofold.

1. The higher wages and the greater cost of maintenance of American officers and crews make it impossible to compete on equal terms with foreign ships. The scale of living and the scale of pay of American sailors are fixed by the standard of wages and of living in the United States, and those are maintained at a high level by the protective tariff. The moment the American passes beyond the limits of his country and engages in ocean transportation he comes into competition with the lower foreign scale of wages and of living. Mr. Joseph L. Bristow, in his report upon trade conditions affecting the Panama Railroad, dated June 14, 1905, gives in detail the cost of operating an American steamship with a tonnage of approximately

thirty-five hundred tons as compared with the cost of operating a specified German steamship of the same tonnage, and the differences aggregate $15,315 per annum greater cost for the American steamship than for the German; that is $4.37 per ton. He gives also in detail the cost of maintaining another American steamship with a tonnage of approximately twenty-five hundred tons as compared with the cost of operating a specified British steamship of the same tonnage, and the differences aggregate $18,289.68 per annum greater cost for the American steamship than for the British; that is $7.31 per ton. It is manifest that if the German steamship were content with a profit of less than $15,000 per annum, and the British with a profit of less than $18,000 per annum, the American ships would have to go out of business.

2. The principal maritime nations of the world, anxious to develop their trade, to promote their shipbuilding industry, to have at hand transports and auxiliary cruisers in case of war, are fostering their steamship lines by the payment of subsidies. England is paying to her steamship lines between six and seven million dollars a year; it is estimated that since 1840 she has paid to them between two hundred and fifty and three hundred millions. The enormous development of her commerce, her preponderant share of the carrying trade of the world, and her shipyards crowded with construction orders from every part of the earth indicate the success of

her policy. France is paying about eight million dollars a year; Italy and Japan, between three and four million each; Germany, upon the initiative of Bismarck, is building up her trade with wonderful rapidity by heavy subventions to her steamship lines and by giving special differential rates of carriage over her railroads for merchandise shipped by those lines. Spain, Norway, Austria-Hungary, Canada, all subsidize their own lines. It is estimated that about $28,000,000 a year are paid by our commercial competitors to their steamship lines.

Against these advantages to his competitor the American shipowner has to contend; and it is manifest that the subsidized ship can afford to carry freight at cost for a long enough period to drive him out of business.

We are living in a world not of natural competition, but of subsidized competition. State aid to steamship lines is as much a part of the commercial system of our day as state employment of consuls to promote business.

It will be observed that both of these disadvantages under which the American shipowner labors are artificial; they are created by governmental action—one by our own Government in raising the standard of wages and living, by the protective tariff; the other by foreign governments in paying subsidies to their ships for the promotion of their own trade. For the American shipowner it is not a contest of intelligence, skill, industry, and thrift against similar

qualities in his competitor; it is a contest against his competitors and his competitors' governments and his own Government also.

Plainly, these disadvantages created by governmental action can be neutralized only by governmental action, and should be neutralized by such action.

What action ought our Government to take for the accomplishment of this just purpose? Three kinds of action have been advocated.

1. A law providing for free ships—that is, permitting Americans to buy ships in other countries and bring them under the American flag. Plainly, this would not at all meet the difficulties which I have described. The only thing it would accomplish would be to overcome the excess in cost of building a ship in an American shipyard over the cost of building it in a foreign shipyard; but since all the materials which enter into an American ship are entirely relieved of duty, the difference in cost of construction is so slight as to be practically a negligible quantity and to afford no substantial obstacle to the revival of American shipping. The expedient of free ships, therefore, would be merely to sacrifice our American shipbuilding industry, which ought to be revived and enlarged with American shipping, and to sacrifice it without receiving any substantial benefit. It is to be observed that Germany, France, and Italy all have attempted to build up their own shipping by adopting the policy

of free ships, have failed in the experiment, have abandoned it, and have adopted in its place the policy of subsidy.

2. It has been proposed to establish a discriminating tariff duty in favor of goods imported in American ships—that is to say, to impose higher duties upon goods imported in foreign ships than are imposed on goods imported in American ships. We tried that once many years ago and have abandoned it. In its place we have entered into treaties of commerce and navigation with the principal countries of the world expressly agreeing that no such discrimination shall be made between their vessels and ours. To sweep away all those treaties and enter upon a war of commercial retaliation and reprisal for the sake of accomplishing indirectly what can be done directly should not be seriously considered.

3. There remains the third and obvious method: to neutralize the artificial disadvantages imposed upon American shipping through the action of our own Government and foreign governments by an equivalent advantage in the form of a subsidy or subvention. In my opinion this is what should be done; it is the sensible and fair thing to do. It is what must be done if we would have a revival of our shipping and the desired development of our foreign trade. We can not repeal the protective tariff; no political party dreams of repealing it; we do not wish to lower the standard of American living or

American wages. We should give back to the shipowner what we take away from him for the purpose of maintaining that standard; and unless we do give it back we shall continue to go without ships. How can the expenditure of public money for the improvement of rivers and harbors to promote trade be justified upon any grounds which do not also sustain this proposal? Would anyone reverse the policy that granted aid to the Pacific railroads, the pioneers of our enormous internal commerce, the agencies that built up the great traffic which has enabled half a dozen other roads to be built in later years without assistance? Such subventions would not be gifts. They would be at once compensation for injuries inflicted upon American shipping by American laws and the consideration for benefits received by the whole American people—not the shippers or the shipbuilders or the sailors alone, but by every manufacturer, every miner, every farmer, every merchant whose prosperity depends upon a market for its products.

The provision for such just compensation should be carefully shaped and directed so that it will go to individual advantage only so far as the individual is enabled by it to earn a reasonable profit by building up the business of the country.

A bill is now pending in Congress which contains such provisions; it has passed the Senate and is now before the House Committee on Merchant

Marine and Fisheries; it is known as Senate bill No. 529, Fifty-ninth Congress, First Session. It provides specifically that the Postmaster-General may pay to American steamships, of specified rates of speed, carrying mails upon a regular service, compensation not to exceed the following amounts: For a line from an Atlantic port to Brazil, monthly, $150,000 a year; for a line from an Atlantic port to Uruguay and Argentina, monthly, $187,500 a year; for a line from a Gulf port to Brazil, monthly, $137,500 a year; for a line from each of two Gulf ports and from New Orleans to Central America and the Isthmus of Panama, weekly, $75,000 a year; for a line from a Gulf port to Mexico, weekly, $50,000 a year; for a line from a Pacific coast port to Mexico, Central America, and the Isthmus of Panama, fortnightly, $120,000 a year. For these six regular lines a total of $720,000. The payments provided are no more than enough to give the American ships a fair living chance in the competition.

There are other wise and reasonable provisions in the bill relating to trade with the Orient, to tramp steamers, and to a naval reserve, but I am now concerned with the provisions for trade to the south. The hope of such a trade lies chiefly in the passage of that bill.

Postmaster-General Cortelyou, in his report for 1905, said:

Congress has authorized the Postmaster-General, by the act of 1891, to contract with the owners of American steamships for ocean mail service and has realized the impracticability of commanding suitable steamships in the interest of the postal service alone by requiring that such steamers shall be of a size, class, and equipment which will promote commerce and become available as auxiliary cruisers of the Navy in case of need. The compensation allowed to such steamers is found to be wholly inadequate to secure the proposals contemplated; hence, advertisements from time to time have failed to develop any bids for much-needed service. This is especially true in regard to several of the countries of South America, with which we have cordial relations and which, for manifest reasons, should have direct mail connections with us. I refer to Brazil and countries south of it. Complaints of serious delay to mails for these countries have become frequent and emphatic, leading to the suggestion on the part of certain officials of the Government that for the present and until more satisfactory direct communication can be established important mails should be dispatched to South America by way of European ports and on European steamers, which would not only involve the United States in the payment of double transit rates to a foreign country for the dispatch of its mails to countries of our own hemisphere, but might seriously embarrass the Government in the exchange of important official and diplomatic correspondence.

The fact that the Government claims exclusive control of the transmission of letter mail throughout its own territory would seem to imply that it should secure and maintain the exclusive jurisdiction, when necessary, of its mails on the high seas. The unprecedented expansion of trade and foreign commerce justifies prompt consideration of an adequate foreign mail service.

It is difficult to believe, but it is true, that out of this faulty ocean mail service the Government of the United States is making a large profit. The actual cost to the Government last year of the ocean mail service to foreign countries other than Canada and Mexico was $2,965,624.21, while the proceeds realized by the Government from postage between the United States and foreign countries other than Canada and Mexico was $6,008,807.53, leaving the profit to the United States of $3,043,183.32; that is to say, under existing law the Government of the United States, having assumed the monopoly of carrying the mails for the people of the country, is making a profit of $3,000,000 per annum by rendering cheap and inefficient service. Every dollar of that three millions is made at the expense of the commerce of the United States. What can be plainer than that the Government ought to expend at least the profits that it gets from the ocean mail service in making the ocean mail service efficient. One quarter of those profits would establish all these lines which I have described between the United States and South and Central America and give us, besides a good mail service, enlarged markets for the producers and merchants of the United States who pay the postage from which the profits come.*

*There would be some modification of these figures if the cost of getting the mails to and from the exchange offices were charged against the account; but this is not separable from the general domestic cost and would not materially change the result.

In his last message to Congress, President Roosevelt said:

To the spread of our trade in peace and the defense of our flag in war a great and prosperous merchant marine is indispensable. We should have ships of our own and seamen of our own to convey our goods to neutral markets, and in case of need to reenforce our battle line. It can not but be a source of regret and uneasiness to us that the lines of communication with our sister Republics of South America should be chiefly under foreign control. It is not a good thing that American merchants and manufacturers should have to send their goods and letters to South America via Europe if they wish security and dispatch. Even on the Pacific, where our ships have held their own better than on the Atlantic, our merchant flag is now threatened through the liberal aid bestowed by other governments on their own steam lines. I ask your earnest consideration of the report with which the Merchant Marine Commission has followed its long and careful inquiry.

The bill now pending in the House is a bill framed upon the report of that Merchant Marine Commission. The question whether it shall become a law depends upon your Representatives in the House. You have the judgment of the Postmaster-General, you have the judgment of the Senate, you have the judgment of the President; if you agree with these judgments and wish the bill which embodies them to become a law, say so to your Representatives. Say it to them individually and directly, for it is your right to advise them and it will be their pleasure to hear from you what legislation the interests of their constituents demand.

The great body of Congressmen are always sincerely desirous to meet the just wishes of their constituents and to do what is for the public interest; but in this great country they are continually assailed by innumerable expressions of private opinion and by innumerable demands for the expenditure of public money; they come to discriminate very clearly between private opinion and public opinion, and between real public opinion and the manufactured appearance of public opinion; they know that when there is a real demand for any kind of legislation it will make itself known to them through a multitude of individual voices. Resolutions of commercial bodies frequently indicate nothing except that the proposer of the resolution has a positive opinion and that no one else has interest enough in the subject to oppose it. Such resolutions by themselves, therefore, have comparatively little effect; they are effective only when the support of individual expressions shows that they really represent a genuine and general opinion.

It is for you and the business men all over the country whom you represent to show to the Representatives in Congress that the producing and commercial interests of the country really desire a practical measure to enlarge the markets and increase the foreign trade of the United States, by enabling American shipping to overcome the disadvantages imposed upon it by foreign governments for the benefit of their trade, and by our Government for the benefit of our home industry.

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